ORGANIZING FOR ONE WORLD

A cable from London by Joseph North

MARCH 6
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NEW MASSES

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THE ITALIANS WANT TO FIGHT

by Sylvester Alessi

BRETTON WOODS AND MR. WOLCOTT

by Virginia Gardner

THE SUPREME COURT: LAWS AND MEN

by Louis L. Byrd

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: *Carl Van Doren, F. O. Matthiessen, William Carlos Williams, Edward Chodorov, Lewis Merrill, Henrietta Buckmaster, Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, Ray Lev, Charles Houston, Allen Wardwell, Meridel LeSueur, Rev. William H. Melish.*

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

THE weekly mail generally brings a mixture of kicks and caresses, with the latter, we are happy to say, far outnumbering the former. But we received a letter recently that gave us quite a jolt. We publish it herewith.

"This is to notify you that I am *not* renewing my subscription to NEW MASSES. Your paper, instead of being in the van as it once was, is now tailing far behind. [Presumably, she means tailing.] You certainly need some new blood and what is more important you need some new good Marxian leadership to put you on the right track about a lot of your thinking. And furthermore some of the contributions published by your contributors are "louzy" [quotation marks and spelling the author's], to use a vernacular in keeping with your vocabulary. As for instance, Virginia Gardner. Who cares in times like this whether Wheeler, or Vandenberg or Dewey wears a blue suit or has a mustache curled up or straight or short. To waste the time of readers with such disgusting trivia is outrageous. We are not interested in such (even though it shows the measure of your contributors), these times are too fast moving and trends too important. There was a time when your magazine was of great importance to me but that day is passed, I fear. If however, you should ever come back to a new and real leadership, I shall be glad to again subscribe to your paper. I shall miss R. Palme Dutt and Pritt, but their contributions are too seldom to subscribe to a paper that has outlived its usefullness and does not yet know it.

"Meanwhile I have found other publications that are informative, in the van, and have a better understanding of the trend of events and forces at work than you appear to have.

"So for the present, 'Farewell.'
Chicago, Ill. "L. L."

If we should ever come back to a new leadership, to appropriate a bit of the author's quaint English, we will turn this letter over to it, but meanwhile the old leadership is bumbling along as best it can.

Since the good woman no longer reads us, we shall mail her a copy of this issue, in the hope that she will have more to say. We assume that the author is not a Trotskyite or something of similar persuasion, since she regrets parting company with R. Palme Dutt, who sees things pretty much as we do. Hence our shock at learning that she could find us to be so far off the beam. However, the fact that the letter-writer finds the tenor of our analysis so cockeyed may make our trust in the honesty of her Marxist yearning seem a little naive. Further word, if forthcoming, will provide the answer.

The following is a letter from an American soldier in Europe. We print it not only to recover some of our equanimity, but to balance the column.

"During the year 1945 there was born to me a daughter and a niece. In their names and in their honor, I should like to make two five-dollar contributions to the maintenance of that stalwart champion of mankind—NEW MASSES.

"In other days, the magazine was often in need of sustenance of this kind, and I take it that this condition has not changed to any appreciable extent. I've gotten a lot of pleasure and benefit out of NEW MASSES. This is one magazine that can be counted on to stay close to the ground. I am glad there is such a magazine for me to make a contribution to. Yours,

"Pfc. J. M."

THERE has seldom been so much universal interest in cultural, political and social matters as at present. The number of authoritative people who are willing to put their opinions and ideas down on paper is higher than ever before. As a result, we have in our files enough first-rate material to fill ten issues. The material to be published in forthcoming issues includes a debate on the question of postwar compulsory military training between Carl Ross, executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy, and Paul Limbert of the National Council of the YMCA; articles on Anglo-American rivalry by D. N. Pritt and Lord Strabolgi; three pieces by the brilliant and scholarly Joel Bradford on, respectively, Picasso, Westbrook Pegler, and Immanuel Kant, (what a sandwich!); an article by I. Yarmashev on whether German industry should be destroyed; a piece by Howard Fast on Negro history; a three-cornered discussion on postwar economic problems by Prof Norman Levinson of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Earl Browder and F. J. Meyers, and many more.

HARRY TAYLOR, who for the past year and a half has been NM's dramatic critic, has resigned because of the pressure of other work. We know our readers will want to join with us in expressing our appreciation for the work he did for the magazine. We are fortunate in obtaining as his successor Matt Wayne, who has had considerable experience in the theater. His first review appears in this issue. J. F.

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NEW MASSES

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THE ITALIANS WANT TO FIGHT

By SYLVESTER ALESSI

SHORTLY after the successful German breakthrough on the Belgian front in the middle of last December, the Nazis in northern Italy launched a powerful offensive against the American Fifth Army. Striking against the Negro 92nd Division, the Germans sought to drive down the Serchio River valley to the Arno, and regain their positions dominating Leghorn, chief supply port for the Fifth Army in northern Italy.

It was no simple coincidence that the twin German offensives into Belgium and northern Italy were launched at that time. Nor were they, as some people have been lulled into believing, simply last-minute gambles to save a desperate situation for retreating German armies. They were indeed ambitious offensives, aimed respectively at Antwerp and Leghorn—the key supply ports feeding the two vital fronts in Europe where Americans are fighting. They failed chiefly because of the determination of American soldiers to take any losses rather than retreat.

A few days after the German counteroffensive in northern Italy the Italian government officially requested the Allied authorities to allow the Italian army to take an increased share of the burden of driving the Germans out of northern Italy. "All Italians," the Italian Cabinet statement on Dec. 27, 1944, said, "are deeply anxious to liberate the northern provinces before the Germans and fascists complete the destruction of our economic life and of our land."

A few days later, on Dec. 30, 1944, the Italian Communist Party announced that it was taking the initiative in starting "a popular campaign to form an Italian army which will take its place on the front in this war." The Communists, appealing directly to the parties and mass membership backing the National Committee of Liberation, called "particularly to all who already have fought in Partisan units, and invites them to join the army and bring to it a new anti-fascist and strictly national spirit." The Socialist and Action parties and finally the Committee of National Liberation coordinating the six anti-fascist parties agreed to back the campaign for expansion of the Italian army, and for closer integration of the Partisan movement behind the German lines in the North into the over-all Allied strategy in liberating Italy.

Italian participation in the war has been strictly regulated by Allied military and civil authorities. While the Allies have now relinquished control over several aspects of Italian life, they have failed to utilize to the full Italian patriotism and hatred of the German occupying forces as a military weapon to speed the liberation of the remainder of occupied Italy. They, and Marshal Badoglio, failed to give proper instructions to the soldiers garrisoned in Salerno and Naples to revolt against their pro-German commanders at the time of our original landing at Salerno. The Germans were thus able to rush reinforcements to the Salerno beachhead area. Yet thousands of Italian soldiers went into hiding with their arms and staged a real revolt inside Naples six days before the Allied entry. These Italian soldiers helped crack the German defenses there.

The Italian declaration of war on Germany marked the beginning of the attempt to rebuild the Italian army. From the nucleus of units which had maintained themselves intact from German efforts to disarm them, many of which filtered back through the Apennines for months after the lines had been stabilized around Cassino, officer staffs were formed. Premier Marshal Badoglio was informed that no arms would be provided by the Allies for the new army, so the Italians set about gathering together what equipment had been saved from the debacle. First priority was given in reconstruction plans to the repair of arms and machine-tool plants which had been systematically destroyed by the retreating Germans. Some of these plants were turned over for the repair by Italians of damaged Allied military equipment, the rest to munitions production for the new Italian army.

Early in 1944 a gradual mobilization of young classes in liberated Italy began. It has been increased since the liberation of Rome, and since the acquisition by the Italian army of quantities of captured enemy material. By September 1944, the army was ready to put six fully equipped divisions in the field. Today it has developed into an even larger force. But it lacks modern equipment and, because it has grown as an unwanted stepchild, its morale is not too high.

BECAUSE of Badoglio's record of doing everything in his power to get the Italian army reorganized and into the war against the Germans the Italian Communist Party did not take the initiative in banishing the aging Marshal from the government. The Communists took the position that the war is in reality a war of liberation of the fatherland, calling for unity of all patriotic elements willing to assist in throwing the Nazis out of the country.

Except for two short periods, we have not allowed the Italian army to fight. The Italians were given their first opportunity to enter the lines when it became clear in January 1944, that the German defense line before Cassino could be cracked only if extra manpower were thrown into battle. An Italian Bersaglieri division was assigned one of the best defended sectors of the German line, a hill commanding the entrance into the Liri Valley. They fought courageously, but without sufficient artillery support, and failed in their mission with heavy casualties.

The Italian army was next assigned a supporting role on a "quiet" mountain sector of the line as the Allies concentrated their forces on the Garigliano River for the breakthrough around Cassino and the drive to Rome and beyond to the Arno valley. The reformed Italian Royal Army placed elements of three divisions in that campaign, and played an honorable role in the drive up to the German Rimini line. It cleared most of the high mountain country up the center of the peninsula in close col-

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laboration with the Italian partisan forces concentrated in this area.

For a short time in mid-summer 1944, when Allied armies in Italy were numerically reduced by the withdrawal of some of the best units for the invasion of southern France, the Italian army was assigned its own sector of the Italian fighting front, but always under Allied supervisory command. In this short period, close coordination was worked out by the Italian army with partisan units operating in the immediate rear of the Germans in the Apennine mountains which formed the backbone of the Lucca-Rimini "Gothic line." This coordination of action on the enemy front and in his rear assisted the breaching of this line and brought Allied troops close to the Po valley.

JUST as the Communists in the Naples period refused to be sidetracked into a futile political struggle over the institutional problem of the monarchy versus the republic, so they continue today to oppose all efforts to use this bickering to sidetrack the problem of building up the Italian army. It was significant that when Palmiro Togliatti, the Italian Communist leader, returned to Italy in March 1944, his clarity in denouncing the constitutional debate helped to end the polemics within the liberation movement parties and was instrumental in forming the first all-party government under Marshal Badoglio which so vitally assisted the Allied drive to Rome.

The same clarity has been applied today. Late last December, General Arnaldo Azzi, a professional soldier who had been assigned the task of building new divisions for the Italian army in the former partisan stronghold areas of the Abbruzzi mountains, published an article in the new Italian army newspaper, *Il Piave*, later reprinted in the Rome Liberal newspaper *Italia Libera*. There he proposed that the officers of the new army no longer be obliged to take their oath to the House of Savoy but to the Italian government only. General Azzi argued that the army should be democratized, both in its organization and its officers' cadres, and that this change be symbolized by a change in the oath taken by officers. The army, he added, should be called the Italian National Army, and not, as is still the case, the Italian Royal Army.

The traditional head of the Italian army is the king; and the present title of commander-in-chief is borne by Prince Umberto. As soon as General Azzi's article was published there was an outcry from the monarchists, who accused him of fomenting revolution. Ultra-leftist elements, including the Trotskyist "Friends of the Partisans" group in Rome, financed by a well-known Italian reactionary industrialist, applauded it.

The new Bonomi Cabinet immediately dismissed General Azzi from the army for violating military discipline. The Communist members in the government concurred in the decision. Their position was clearly stated in the Communist press, and at meetings, and has won national approval.

The Communists have insisted that the formation of a mass army must be carried out before any improvement in Italian affairs is possible. The new army, they explained, has one fundamental objective—to help drive the Germans from Italian soil as soon as possible. All those sincerely willing to risk their lives for this national patriotic goal must be admitted, whatever their former or present political views, or their religious beliefs. Only open fascists, saboteurs and enemy agents must be rigorously excluded. The very mass scope of the new army will bring about democratization.

While the old Italian army officer's caste was made up almost exclusively of monarchists, many of these, confirmed fascists, have openly passed to the enemy in northern Italy, or been captured or killed in the campaigns in North Africa, or have been excluded by the new army because of their anti-national attitude. But many, the majority, are serving honorably today in the new Italian army. Before the sight of the open decay of fascism and the cynical German occupation and destruction of Italy's patrimony, many officers have undergone the same moral changes that have so many of their compatriots.

GENERAL AZZI is not the only professional officer whose views have changed so profoundly that he calls today for a truly democratic reorganization within the army. Such changes will naturally come about, not by name-changing, or oath-taking, but by the mass action of the Italian people inside a fighting army. Ordinary soldiers and noncommissioned officers will, by their bravery and fighting qualities, work their way up to officers' rank.

Should the Italian army go into the line to stay until the Germans are driven out, replacements will automatically rise inside that army. Fighting the Nazis and the Mussolini fascists, the army will know very well what it is fighting for. Its democratic basis will be strengthened in action. And once the army is in the field, positive arrangements can be made for quickly incorporating partisan units into it in much the same way as in France.

Morale within the new Italian army is a serious question today because Italians have never been assigned an important sector of the front, with a real role to play. Men who were originally intent upon assisting the liberation of their country have grown stale as a result of barracks life and inaction, endless training marches and mock maneuvers, while their relatives and friends were being killed off by Germans in the North.

A feeling has grown among many Italians, and it is actively fostered by fascist agents, that the Allies have allowed the army to grow only to get men off the streets in the midst of the serious economic crisis. Some have even expressed the fear that this army may be intended as a threat against any popular demonstration, as a force "to maintain public order." This doubt has been increased by the refusal to accept partisan units into the new army, or to give them the grades they have earned in fighting the Germans. When Italian divisions were at the front they did incorporate partisan units into their own forces, but Allied authorities frowned upon this policy and stopped it.

The present Italian government demand that the new Italian army be assigned a specific sector must be fulfilled to show the people that their army is playing its role in kicking the Germans out of Italy and to give the army a real *esprit de corps*. Incorporation of the partisans into the army will end the poor morale in areas where they operated—areas whose people feel that they have been cheated, that the Allies have not lived up to their verbal promises to give them a future part in the fighting.

Only by active operations on the front can the whole Italian nation be united in the sacred struggle to rid the country of the Nazis. Only this step can fully unite all elements in the liberated territory and unleash their energies to undertake wholeheartedly the reconstruction of the devastated land. As the Communists pointed out, such a step would not only change the balance of military forces on the Italian front, but would change the character of the slow, devastating and brutalizing campaign in Italy, and sweep the Germans out of a land where they are now universally despised and where the hand of every Italian will be turned against them.

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ORGANIZING FOR ONE WORLD

By JOSEPH NORTH

London (by cable).

"IT's a small world," the Arkansas traveller must certainly have remarked somewhere along his itinerary, and London I felt is mighty nigh Chicago. My memory cut back to the CIO convention along Chicago's lake shore a few fleeting months ago when Philip Murray articulated the need for a new world trade union organization. I happen to have carried across the Atlantic a copy of the resolution he inspired, a resolution unanimously adopted by the CIO convention endorsing his action in accepting the invitation by the British Trades Union Congress to attend the congress. The resolution said: "The CIO supports the project of a new single powerful international labor body that will include unions of free countries on the basis of equality, excluding none and relegating none to a secondary place, and that will be capable of defending the interests of the common man." The foresight of Murray and his followers has been amply demonstrated. It was my privilege to see the process of history at work. A few short weeks ago I heard the words of the CIO resolution: here at London I watched the words quicken into flesh and blood.

You will be interested to know that most of the delegates carried home a glowing account of the Americans at the Congress. I spoke with many from the forty-two lands represented here and can attest that the CIO leaders were genuine ambassadors of good will. Men of all lands put a high value on the labors of America's delegation, particularly those of Sidney Hillman; of Reid Robinson, the latter's report on strengthening the war effort proving one of the congress' highlights; of R. J. Thomas, whose powerful speech for unity during the troubled period of the first week brought the delegates to their feet; of A. J. Fitzgerald's firstrate work on the Standing Rules Committee; and of Joseph Curran's eloquent plea to bar forever practices of racial discrimination and the exploitation of weaker peoples. Another American—this one from south of the Rio Grande—came in for high praise: Lombardo Toledano, who had been chosen one of the congress' vice presidents. His labor statesmanship was undeniable and he truly emerged as a world figure. Another non-European, Ernie Thornton of Australia, proved his mettle here. The significance of all this lies in its great contrast with the prewar International Federation of Trade Unions, which had been merely a Western European body corroded by anti-Soviet bias. Now men were heard from every continent; these people meant One World when they said it. And the spirit of unity ran even higher at the close of the convention than at the beginning. An instance: it was decided to have one delegate from India sit on the Continuations Committee. But representatives from two union organizations were present. Which would represent India? Though the delegates from the two bodies were markedly cool to each other at the convention's outset, at the close they put their heads together and chose M. Dange from the All India Trades Union Congress to represent his land. This is significant: it happened to several other split delegations and betokened the future.

Last week I outlined the sessions of the general body. This week the Continuations Committee concluded the following business: they chose an administrative body, in reality an executive committee, consisting of two representatives each of France, Great Britain, the United States and Latin America; and one from China, one from the IFTU and one from the International Trade Union secretariats. They issued a statement entitled "Call to All Peoples," eloquently outlining the program. Finally the committee decided to reconvene the World TUC in September. Though all the congress proposals have yet to be ratified by their constituent unions, everybody is positive of the result. It is significant that the Frenchman Louis Saillant was chosen secretary of the administrative body, thus focussing attention on the continental unions which have been revitalized by their unified underground work against fascism.

Attending sessions of the Continuations Committee were representatives from ex-enemy countries who arrived in time to present their views and problems: Italy, Finland and Bulgaria. Most were cut to the same mold as the Bulgarian delegate who told me that after his country was liberated, some thirty unions sprang up and now number 400,000 members. "We'll play a big part in the reconstruction of our country," he said. He himself had been a member of the supreme staff of the Partisan Army for three years and was sentenced to death by the Bulgarian government, but managed to elude arrest. Such are the men of the World Trade Union Congress: the people's tribunes determined to implement their governments' agreements for lasting peace and a prospering world.

This realization is common here in London. I find the congress aftermath most significant. Practically every articulate segment of Britain—the powerful London *Times*, the liberal *News Chronicle*, the London *Daily Worker*—voice similar refrains: that labor unity is good not only for labor but for the world. This conclusion was perhaps most forcibly presented in the principal British newspaper, the *Times*, which spoke this week in a leading editorial in words which reverberate like Big Ben's chimes. I will cite it at some length for I believe it is an indication that the majority of British capital is aware of labor's contemporary and decisive role and has gone a long way toward realization that the world's future depends upon reconciling differences amicably.

The *Times* wrote, "It can be said with assurance that the determination by all sides to overcome the outstanding obstacles has been demonstrated with un-

War Babies

London Daily Worker

"E's one ahead of his intuition this time."

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An Apt Pupil.

expected force. The remarkable advance registered during the sessions of the conference provides the best promise for the future. . . . The war has brought the workers of Britain and Russia and the United States into a new, close and mutually respectful relationship. The Labor Confederation of Latin America has come to represent a powerful anti-fascist factor on the Allied side. But the politics of wartime has provided no solution in itself for the basic problem of world federation. The task of the conference was to seek a method of permanent alliance on an industrial and trade union basis, in spite of the wide difference of constitutions and without abandoning the fundamental principles of the various sections. The spirit in which they faced it was shown by the rapid abandonment of the view that the conference was only qualified to act in a consultative and exploratory capacity and a determination to take concrete measures for the reconstruction of a world trade union organization. The issue had political implications extending beyond the special trade union interests giving rise to it. The conference's quest for a practical recipe for world cooperation mirrors the wide preoccupation of the peoples which in different forms has appeared both at Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta and the outcome of which will shape history's cause.

"If emphasis in either diplomatic or labor relations is laid upon the undoubted differences in national organization among the United Nations, progress is impossible. If, on the other hand, those differences are deliberately ignored or denied, the consequences must be a pretence which can afford no foundation for realistic policy.

"The only sensible and fruitful course is to concentrate on the wide area of agreement and common interest existing among these nations; and this counsel is as apt for world's workers in their quest for higher living standards as it is for the diplomats."

THIS comment embodies a deep understanding of today's imperatives. It augurs well for the resolution of labor's day-to-day problems as well as for long range political objectives in their homelands. Capital is coming to realize that it cannot operate in the old ways—that national interests are intertwined with the welfare of the many. And the many are being banded together primarily in unified labor setups.

I am eager to cite the *Times* editorial for another reason. I recall arguing with some friends back in America who hold a dark outlook on the postwar world and who said, "Wait till the war's over." They forecast union-smashing and an offensive against the people's living standards. I do not deny that some employers hold archaic views and dream of 1919. But the majority are being impelled by the new forces working in the world and the London *Times* is on the witness stand. I don't know how the American press editorialized on the World Congress; it might be well if they read their revered ancestor, the venerable London *Times*, for the latter evidently understands, as do the labor delegates, that the concords of Teheran and Yalta depend in the final analysis on labor's concerted, energetic and ceaseless championing of them, acting in concert with all other classes. In my opinion, this spirit—searching for "the widest areas of agreement" and operating from there—is dominant here in Britain. It has caught on among all classes and varieties of democratic political opinion, barring none. All hindrances and old-fashioned thinking on this score are being uprooted by the hurricane of current political and military events. Further confirmation of this fact is pending and I will have occasion to deal with it in subsequent dispatches.

I do not imply there is a monolithic agreement here on all the crucial issues of the day: the cabal of reactionary tories seeking to undermine the Crimean decisions cannot be laughed off. Nor can the endeavors of those who decry the agreements of Bretton Woods and who manifest no confidence in the possibility of reconciling Anglo-American economic differences. But the majority feel otherwise, and that majority is decisive. And among them there is common agreement that victory won't come automatically. There's hard campaigning before us. I have spoken with a number of trade union leaders and some leading publicists like Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*, Gordon Schaeffer of *Reynolds Weekly* and I gather from a complex of their reactions that the tides are running out for those who would do business in the old ways. After all, Winston Churchill has put his weighty signature on the Yalta document: the Prime Minister's voice is more than that of one eloquent man.

IN CONCLUSION I must pass this on to you: the spirit in London is high, and the rapid conclusion of the European war is awaited with painful eagerness. Few delude themselves that the end will come without hard fighting; most expect that, and you can hear armadas of planes hurrying out across the Channel every night. They know fascism's grave was deeply dug at Yalta. Today is Red Army Day here and you can gauge the end of an era and the beginning of a new one by the numbers of buttons being sold to aid Red Army wounded. Nearly everyone on the streets is wearing one, including some six-foot bobbies who were directing traffic. A British soldier I saw pinning one to his lapel commented to the lass selling them on a street corner: "Blimey, you ought to sell a lot of these Red Army buttons. Those lads are deserving."

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SUPREME COURT: LAWS AND MEN

By LOUIS L. BYRD

THE Supreme Court presents an interesting case history in the growth of a political institution. The Court of 1937 had succeeded in establishing itself as a bulwark of reaction against the social and economic reforms which an entire country required. By 1944 it had developed into a genuine force for American liberalism and democracy.*

The explanation of this significant political growth certainly does not lie exclusively in the change of personnel of the Supreme Court. The new members of the Court have been, rather, the media of that growth. The Court has come to assume a new role in American government and that role does not find its definition in its personnel any more than in any formal, legal document. For a real understanding of the Court today, therefore, it is necessary to trace the power of the Court to its source rather than to dwell upon its personnel.

The Constitution provides only the broadest outlines and not the specific sources of power for the Court. Few absolute or specific compulsions are exerted upon the Court by the Constitution. In fact, the Court has so shifted and expanded its "constitutional" functions that it is impossible to believe that the Court has not been moved in its delineation of its functions by some forces not articulated by the exact language of the Constitution. The Constitution provides no conclusive clue as to why the Court will act vigorously in some fields and not in others.

The popular will does, of course, supply the outermost limits of the Court's power. After 1937 the Court could not, in the face of an aroused public opinion, persist in its obstruction of urgent liberal legislation. But, within the framework and limits of the Constitution and the popular will, there still remains a tremendous area within which the Court's discretion is exercised. This article suggests that, apart from the influence exerted by the social welfare views of the members of the Court, the exercise of that discretion has had one very discernible drive: *The Court today appears to be motivated by its own evaluation of its own special competency.*

The Supreme Court is acutely aware that, as compared to the executive or legislature, it operates under the limitations incidental to the judicial process. The most important limitation, of course, is the fact that a court does not look out over the troubled world and pick out the evils that require treatment. Courts do not move on their own initiative. They must wait until a case is brought to them. They must accept the case in the context in which it is brought, and they must decide only the particular case presented. In addition, a fair trial requires that the proof be confined to the exigencies of the individual case. As a result, the presentation of social and economic facts to a court is heavily restricted. Finally, in those instances where a court is reviewing legislation, the court that strikes down legislation is faced with the anomaly which results from judicial inability to fill the gap created.

The limitations described have convinced the Court that legislators and administrators are more competent than the Court to handle complex, modern economic problems, and it also appreciates that the President clearly enjoys a more favorable political position to handle foreign affairs. Formerly the due process clause of the Constitution was interpreted by the Court to permit it to pass on the wisdom or expediency of economic legislation. But today, influenced by its notion of its own competence, economic legislation is favored with a "presumption of constitutionality" and the Court recognizes that it has little or no justification in the due process clause or otherwise for preferring its ideas of sound legislative policies or techniques to those of Congress or the state legislatures. As a result, the Court devotes less of its energy to testing whether economic legislation conforms to the due process clause of the Constitution, and its main preoccupation is to implement the statute by interpreting it in a manner consonant with the legislative intent.

The interpretation and application of legislation in litigation is no mean task and provides ample room for full expression of economic and political ideologies. Similarly, the tendency has been to find the exercise of the executive power constitutional without scrutinizing the actual merits or content of the executive action, particularly in matters pertaining to the prosecution of the war. Here too, the main inquiry is that of determining what the executive wants to achieve and assisting him. In foreign affairs, the Court has, at least since the *Curtiss-Wright* case of 1936, completely abandoned any pretense of ability to control the executive.

The Court's new interpretation of the due process clause has allowed administrative agencies to acquire considerable freedom from judicial review in regard to both findings of "fact" and of "law." Thus, Mr. Justice Rutledge, in the *National Labor Relations Board v. Hearst Newsboys* case of 1944, held that the Court would not review the National Labor Relations Board's determination that an individual is an "employe" within the scope of the National Labor Relations Act. In *Dobson v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue*, decided in 1944, the Board of Tax Appeal's determination of a matter of "law" was also held to be final and non-reviewable.

YET this general disinclination to review economic legislation under the due process clause has not been indiscriminate. The Court has continued to require that the *mode of procedure* employed by executive and administrative agencies conform to certain minimum procedural standards which the Court derives from the due process clause. This explains the close scrutiny which the Court applied in *Yakus v. United States*, 1944, to the question of the constitutionality of certain criminal prosecutions by the Office of Price Administration. The establishment of these procedural standards entails judicial "legislation" just as surely as the testing of the wisdom of economic legislation under the due process clause by the pre-New Deal Court entailed judicial "legislation." The difference between the two types of judicial "legislation" lies in the relative expertise of the Court in

* See the article by Leonard Boudin in NEW MASSES of Aug. 29, 1944 for a full discussion of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court.

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matters of procedure. This expertise comes from a long judicial history of concern for the rights of litigants to be heard fully and fairly. *It is because the Court is aware of its competency in testing matters of procedure that it proceeds to act vigorously in this field.*

Nor has the due process clause become completely obsolete as a basis for the judicial review of the *substance* and *merits* of legislation. Chief Justice Stone, in a footnote in the 1938 *US v. Carolene Products Co.* case, indicated that while the Court had restricted powers of review of economic legislation, it retained full power under the due process clause to determine the constitutionality and *unconstitutionality* of legislation affecting civil liberties. He maintained that the Court should exercise this power most vigorously for the protection of political and religious rights. This distinction in the Court's attitude turned on an important democratic theory of government: unwise or oppressive economic legislation can be alleviated by the electorate through its control over the legislature, so that there was no need for the Court to substitute its notion of good legislation for that of the legislature; but restraints imposed upon civil liberties cannot be so alleviated, *for the restraint itself restricts the channels of political activity through which alleviation must be sought.* This distinction has been deemed adequate by most members of the Court to allow it to reverse the ordinary presumption of constitutionality of legislation. Any restraint upon freedom of speech, press, or religion is presumed to be *unconstitutional.* Regardless of the political theory involved, the more important consideration is that, at least in matters of civil liberties, the present Supreme Court has usually shown itself to be a more disinterested and competent appraiser of human rights and values than either Congress or the state legislatures. No case better illustrates the courageous liberalism of the Court than *Smith v. Allwright,* 1944, where the Court declared void any efforts to exclude a Negro from voting in the Texas primary.

While the Supreme Court realizes that it does not, as a Court, have the facilities to consider the wisdom or propriety of legislation treating complex economic problems, it has a different notion as to its ability to adjust conflicting claims of power of the states and the federal government. Here the Court feels that its political vantage point in our governmental structure makes it most competent to adjust the stresses and strains of a going federal system. The Court acts as a sort of "umpire of the federal system" in marking out the boundaries between state and federal power.

The Court acts as "umpire" by dint of the "commerce clause" of the Constitution. This clause permits the federal government to legislate on matters of "interstate commerce." With the recent expansion of the federal government the Court has had to stretch the term "interstate commerce" and the federal government can now regulate anything that might be said to "affect" interstate commerce. Thus, in the *Southeastern Underwriters' Association* case, 1944, it was held that insurance is interstate commerce subject to the federal antitrust laws.

But while the commerce clause indicates what the federal government *can* do it does not indicate what the state government *cannot* do. It is just at this point that the Court steps in to adjust the boundaries between state and federal power. Of course, when Congress acts under the "commerce clause" no one disputes the inability of the state to pass *conflicting* legislation on the same matter. But even where Congress has acted, the Court frequently permits state legislation in the same field on the theory that the state legislation was not in conflict with and could be "accommodated" to the federal statute. This was the approach of Chief Justice Stone in *Parker v. Brown,* 1942. The problem becomes acute, however, where Congress has not acted and has not given the states the green light to go ahead in the field. In regard to this problem, Mr. Chief Justice Stone expresses the view of the majority of the Court when he argues that, at least in the field of taxation, to grant constitutional permission to one state to tax an item of interstate commerce would permit *all* states through which that commerce passes to do the same. Theoretically this would result in a threat of the imposition of a "multiple burden" upon the commerce which would put it at a competitive disadvantage with intrastate commerce, and, therefore, such a tax is often declared unconstitutional.

The Court has been more modest in acting as "umpire of the federal system" in a "conflict of laws" situation. A "conflict of laws" arises when a court is dealing with a fact situation which has contacts with more than one state. The Court must then choose and apply the law of one of these states, and disregard the law of the other states. When the choice has been made by a state court, the Supreme Court has displayed a considerable reluctance in reversing that choice. But even this modesty is not unrelated to the Court's notions of competency. The choice of law made by the state court is said to concern a matter of "local policy," better left to the states.

A similar regard for "local policy" has resulted in a substantial diminution of the Court's importance in "diversity of citizenship" cases. Such cases arise under the constitutional provision that suits between citizens of different states may be brought into the federal courts. This makes it possible for local questions, unrelated to federal statutes or the federal Constitution, to be heard by the federal courts where the litigants are of different states. The local law problems presented gave rise to a body of "national" law on these local subjects. But in 1937 *Erie v. Tompkins* established the rule that state law controls these cases even though a case is in a federal court.

IT APPEARS then, that the Court is earnestly engaged in working and shaping its proper province in our government, on the basis of two main considerations: the limited techniques available to a court as a court; and the Court's political vantage point which puts it in an admirable position to adjust the stresses and strains of a going system of federalism. Yet no criticism should be levelled against the Court for its assumptions and definitions of its own powers. It is only natural that an institution, through its experience and development, will shape its functions as its functions shape it. Such flexibility is essential to a vital system of government.

Of course, most laymen, and many lawyers, will be surprised to learn that the Court is primarily a "human" institution, growing out of modern political and governmental developments, rather than a "legal" institution whose outlines are definitively marked by a single written instrument. Yet this surprising discovery should bring with it real satisfaction to progressive forces. The Court which is defining its role in American life is a liberal Court. In fact, both on the levels of economic and political thought, the Court is comprised of the most liberal personnel of any branch of the state or national government. From all appearances the Court will continue to operate in its self-chosen spheres of activity with liberal vigor and courage to the end that it will become a real force for progress in this country.

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WHERE THERE IS VISION

To ALL who see the intimate relationship between the tasks of winning the war, purging the Reich, rehabilitating a free and democratic Europe, and creating an effective international organization for future security and welfare, the agreement of the Big Three at Yalta—and the setting of a date for the San Francisco conference of the United Nations—serve to set the blood to pounding. The day of national decision is drawing very near. Behind the arduous groundwork of the administration has lain a clear demonstration of the popular will. The Crimea Conference was possible because the quiet aspiration and conviction of the American people demanded it. President Roosevelt has done his work well, the technical appointments have been wisely made, and it now rests with our people to make sure that nothing shall deflect our will. In this matter we can afford no disagreement. We have placed our hands upon the plough and we must drive the furrow.

Voices are seeking to dissuade us. It is good to scrutinize their claims in the light of our profound beliefs. Because the more one listens unemotionally with cool-headed clearness, the easier it is to see that all of them are reading their own pet biases and prejudices into the commitments they attack. The cynical read into them their own cynicism; it is they themselves and not this program that should face the bar of judgment. The abstract theorists and doctrinaire idealists call these plans the hard realities of modern economic, political and military power. Those with economic stakes and group commitments that run counter to this charted course cry havoc, preferring to impede the essential integration of great and friendly peoples because of their own outdated private preferences and loyalties. These voices are small but strident, and it takes some length and breadth of view to put them in their place.

The older sort of isolationism is dead; even its most ardent exponents will admit it. But in its place has come a new and subtler form of psychological isolationism which would take flight in outward appearance, mistaking our war-inflated economy for self-sufficiency and the power of arms for international friendship. There is something schizophrenic about this state of mind, and being utterly irrational, it is emotionally dangerous. Perhaps more than anything else at this moment, it is the pitfall we as a nation must avoid. Americans fear change, and shy at changing circumstances. And yet even a moment's sober reflection on the state of the world that exploded in this present global war awakens our ardent longing for the very change we fear.

In the light of this, many of the things which trouble Americans become welcome things. When one realizes the international chaos of the past, what could be more desirable than the emergence of three great federated powers as stable units in the modern world? Do we want the Soviet Union broken up into fragmentary parts to atomize a sixth of the world's surface? I can imagine no greater tragedy! Would that the rest of Asia could feel within its natural areas some of the same cohesive sense of collective destiny! There are things in the British Empire that I do not like and will not halo, but the survival of such a commonwealth of peoples to continue an evolutionary process is not a despicable thing; without it our current world would be impoverished. I need not say the happier things about ourselves. My satisfaction—and it is real, especially when viewed against the ghastly alternative we have only by a hair avoided—lies in the emergence as the dominant powers of the modern world of three federated democratic combinations of peoples. The small nations, whose contribution of necessity must be largely in the sphere of culture rather than economic or political power, are surely safer in a world of stabilized agreement among these great than in the anarchy that will ensue if they are rivals or antagonists, each burdened with enormous military establishments and the sterile striving after economic autarchy. Such unity, of course, is no solution to the problems that remain but it does provide a framework in which we can approach these problems with some hope of mastery.

Cannot we help our fellows to see more clearly that we Americans are not alone in expressing such feelings as these? The British share them. The Soviets share them. In this shrinking, ravaged, saddened world of ours, these sentiments are not quixotic hopes but actually the reflection of great national needs. Each of us needs tranquillity for convalescence, time for reintegration, and energy for development. It is not the cause of one against another, or any combination, for the mathematics of this formula works equally in any fashion. The more we try to see through the eyes of intelligent Britons, or through the eyes of experienced Soviet citizens, we find ourselves dealing with great common denominators. Perhaps the real answer is that we are dealing with peoples, and while their ways are different, being peoples their problems are common. We find ourselves in the same psychological orbit where social techniques become tools instead of weapons.

"Where there is no vision," declared the ancient prophet, "the people perish." We cannot say that we are without vision. We have it, and it is sufficient to our immediate needs. For us the simpler issue is to be true to it. And the time to act is drawing very near.

Edith Glaser

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MR. WOLCOTT OUT OF THE WOODS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

REP. JESSE WOLCOTT of Michigan once told me that he was a misunderstood man. I am almost willing to agree with him. I take back all the unkind things I ever wrote or even thought about Mr. Wolcott during the fight on price control as he went about with his sheaf of amendments. Or during the recent fight on Henry Wallace.

It is possible, of course, that the redoubtable Joe Martin of the House will swing that GOP whip and if the pressure gets strong enough Wolcott may retreat on Bretton Woods. But unless and until that happens, and Wolcott himself says that opposition to Bretton Woods is not shaping up along party lines, I for one am willing to regard Mr. Wolcott as a changed man, as of today.

I will admit that when I was assured by a government official that no matter how noncommittal he was on the subject, Jesse Wolcott "in his heart" was a strong believer in the Bretton Woods agreements, I was skeptical.

And when, waiting for him in his office, I was assured by his secretary, a comfortable, motherly type, that Mr. Wolcott had a sense of humor, I again was skeptical. No, she insisted, he did have. How? "Why, in all sorts of cute, coy ways," she said. "You'd be surprised." But after talking to this rather shy, soft-voiced, round little man for seventy minutes about Bretton Woods, I was convinced that he did have a heart, and I at least began to see what his secretary meant, although I would not be so bold as to call Wolcott cute.

REPRESENTATIVE WOLCOTT had been reported in the press as enthusiastic, at the time of the Bretton Woods conference, where he went as a delegate, but he said nothing publicly. The ranking minority member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, where the first hearings will soon be held on the Bretton Woods legislation, his support, if real, would be invaluable.

At the outset Mr. Wolcott reminded me he had "never made any statement either for or against the fund or the bank," alluding to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which everyone appears to accept, and the International Monetary Fund, on which the American Bankers Association, the New York *Times*, *et al.*, have their doubts.

"There is such diversity of opinion that if I am to have any value it will be to consolidate it and lead it in the right direction," he said. "Besides, I've not made up my mind. I still have some studying to do. If I came out now for or against, I'd be in no position to act as moderator."

He went on to say he was just thinking aloud, that he had to make a speech on Bretton Woods on February 26, sharing the platform with Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, before the Detroit Economic Club. He was in the worry stage, he said, just before the speech-writing stage.

"I want to cover the objections objectively," he said. I noticed a trait his secretary had told me about. His feet began to tap, lightly, but in perfect rhythm. He used to be a drummer in a band, while studying law, she told me, and in moments of reflection, the tapping was apt to start.

"I will take one or two of the most important, and see if they overbalance the benefits," he went on. "Congress has to decide if the objections outweigh the advantages."

He had talked to many bankers from the financial centers, although none from Michigan. "I do not anticipate that they will not have any opportunity to amend the basic plan," he began cautiously. However, in view of how worried the Treasury is over the threat of amendments, his careful words carried dynamite. "You cannot amend the agreements or they will have to be submitted to thirty-four nations all over again," he said. "But the influence [of the bankers] is strong enough so that in order to get support for the bill there may be some compromises. Whatever compromises will be made will concern enabling legislation, however, and will take the form of safeguards, limitations and restrictions in the establishment of standards under which our delegates to the board shall function."

THIS sounded ominous. I recalled that Rep. Howard Smith (D., Va.), was fond of speaking of his crippling amendments to appropriations bills for various agencies as "enabling legislation," and Sen. Robert A. Taft (R., O.), often uses the same phrase.

I pressed him to suggest "samples" of what that enabling legislation could be. He did, and they all sounded innocuous enough. I checked with experts and found they were in fact fairly innocuous, and that, at any rate, some compromises might be safely made if they didn't affect the agreements. One, for instance, was that our delegates on the board of governors or on the executive board could not take part in any action affecting the value of the dollar without reference to Congress. Another suggestion was that an advisory council be established as liaison between Congress and the delegate, making periodic reports to Congress. These "may remove many of the objections," said Wolcott.

"No," he said thoughtfully, "it doesn't look to me as if there would be any successful legislation to divide the bank from the fund. You would have to rewrite the International Bank agreement to authorize the making of stabilization loans." This is what the ABA and the New York *Times* want.

"And how, even if that could be done," I asked, "would the bank be able to handle stabilization loans without any fund for it? Unless the bank would forfeit its $10,000,000,000 for reconstruction."

"If $20,000,000,000 is necessary for both, $10,000,000,000 would not be enough for both projects," he agreed. "It would necessitate an increase of capital for the bank, and that would necessitate new agreements."

Still he remained the objective critic. He even declared that the bankers "could not be said to be selfish in opposing the fund, as they agreed to the bank, and they've gone quite a way in approving the bank and suggesting a stabilization department for it."

I pointed out that if the ABA were sincere, no one could disagree with his formulation. But I recalled a talk I had had earlier that day with the Banking and Currency Committee chairman, Brent Spence (D., Ky.), who had said, "If anyone is ignorant of what is in the agreements, he might oppose the fund and be for the bank. But if anyone has read them, he could not honestly oppose one and approve the other." Moreover, Mr. Spence had said rather heatedly that

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the ABA move was "just a means of killing both the bank and the fund" and "another way of sniping."

And to my surprise Wolcott merely said quietly, with assurance, "I think the ABA recognizes that the Congress is going to pass this legislation."

But then Mr. Wolcott acquired a worried look and said that of course one thing mitigating against the Bretton Woods legislation was Henry Wallace. I remarked that it would be a great shame if the fight on Bretton Woods became identified with the fight on the nomination of Wallace as Secretary of Commerce.

"But it is taking that form—not out in the open, but behind the scenes," he said. "Wallace himself doesn't bother anyone, but he is a symbol, and the Export-Import Bank (on whose board of directors he would have a seat) will supplement the International Bank."

"I heard you in your statement before the Rules Committee on the George bill (divorcing the lending agencies from the Department of Commerce)," I said. Wolcott had warned that if the Democrats persisted in "injecting the personality of Wallace" into the picture, they would lose support for Bretton Woods. "I heard you say that people had a right to expect a collaboration between all segments of the population, labor and business."

"That's right, and Bretton Woods might act as a hub which would attract all those different elements, who would form the spokes of a wheel," he said with enthusiasm, his large round brown eyes lighting up.

From then on Wallace was forgotten. I spoke of the demagogic argument I had heard used against the fund. This argument was that it might "cheapen the American dollar."

But if we really wanted to cheapen the dollar, all we would have to do would be to compete against countries who would be allowed to depreciate their currencies in a world without any such agreements as Bretton Woods outlined, Wolcott easily agreed. "If the dollar is stable our banks and business know where they are going," he said.

"I was happily surprised," he went on, with an effulgent smile, "to find at Bretton Woods that all the countries there were willing to accept our dollar just about as they accept gold. The fact that they were willing to tie their currencies to our dollar showed the place we will have in world trade. When we say they want our dollars all we mean is that they want our goods. That in itself would influence any possible coalition of countries in our behalf."

From then on he began to talk of "their fears" and "their arguments," meaning those of the bankers who oppose the plan, definitely indicating he was on the other side. "Their fear that we couldn't function in the world of trade" and "their argument that we only control a quarter of the votes," he scouted. "Without us there could be no stabilization, so because of the nature of the thing another quarter would join up with us." In great detail he went into his explanation of just why there could be no "ganging up on the US" that the opponents of the plan allegedly fear.

"Of course no one ever has had experience in this to go by," he said. It required a new approach. He told how in order to work out the problems the delegates at Bretton Woods had worked at times until dawn. From other sources I had learned that Wolcott, one of the ablest men in Congress in finance and banking, had taken a very active part and given many valuable suggestions to the working out of details. Of this he made no mention, but his eyes shone warmly as he reminisced about the hard work and late hours at the international conference. "And I thought I was going to have a nice vacation in the beautiful White Mountains," he chuckled.

"It all boils down to whether Congress will take the gamble in hopes of the plan's succeeding," he said.

"And what is the alternative?" I asked. I heard the tap-tap of his feet on the floor, and then he answered:

"The alternative? To grab all we can get in the immediate postwar years, with the knowledge that when the countries who are buying our goods reach the saturation point in consumer goods, there will be another depression, more awful than the last."

He used the phrase "consumer goods," obviously, as opposed to all the machinery and steel and communications equipment and other things we could sell abroad under the Bank for Reconstruction, and under a fund which would deal with guaranteeing governments in loans for "productive purposes," i.e., to improve the economy of a country.

"I will be perfectly frank," said this man who represents conservatism, not liberal thought, yet who has the vision to see what lies ahead for business as well as labor if the international anarchy of pre-war commerce is revived. "I am doubtful if our economy could support for very long, for more than five or six years, the sort of production needed to put everyone to work—without a greatly expanded foreign trade. But if we have it, we can put them to work. We can put, not 57,000,000, but 70,000,000—well, at least 62,000,000 to 65,000,000—to work, in my opinion. You see," he said with his rare smile, "Mr. Wallace is a piker."

The test as to whether the bank and fund do a job or not, he went on, won't come during the peak of prosperity after the war, but with the slackening off in demand for consumer goods. "Just as the test of whether the Federal Deposit Insurance Co. is a good thing doesn't come until conditions exist which otherwise would result in runs on the banks."

His secretary came in then with a pile of papers to sign, and Mr. Wolcott came down to earth. "As I said, if Congress thinks it worth gambling $5,000,000,000 on, they'll pass it," he said, anticlimactically. He paused, then added: "Well, I always thought I'd like to sit down and talk these things over with someone if I didn't have to obligate myself." He smiled, and devoted himself to the letters before him.

In This Corner

"Herr Goebbels, excuse me,
But what is that sound?
Just soldiers' boots
Hitting the ground?

"Herr Goebbels, excuse me,
I don't think it's goose-step
Coming so near me—
I fear me it's Russe-steppe!"

* * *

Hurry up, Vandenberg,
What do you connive?
To go along or go alone
On April twenty-five?

Housing shortage, Vandenberg,
No room for doubt:
Smoke the pipe of peace
Or be smoked out.

Stand up, Vandenberg,
Can't sit on any fences:
At San Francisco
It's Truth or Consequences!

* * *

The "World-Telly" with Woltman
Still is accursed,
But at least Pegler's gone
From bad to Hearst.

N.M.

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GIANTS AT WORK

By MERIDEL LE SUEUR

Every morning Paul Bunyan grew two feet.

He was quick as lightning, the only man in the North Woods who could blow out a candle at night and hop into bed before it was dark.

He planted a kernel of corn and in five minutes the corn sprouted up through the ground till it was fifty feet high and Ole, the Big Swede, climbed up out of sight.

Paul had to invent the double bitted axe with a blade on each side so his men could work twice as fast. The axe was wide as a barn door, had a great oak tree for a handle and he chopped so fast it became red hot and had to be dipped into the lakes to cool it off.

Paul and his six axemen logged off North Dakota in a single month and Babe, the Blue Ox, walked around on the stumps pushing them into the ground, so that the Swede could plough the next day.

HUMAN history is work history. The heroes of the people are work heroes. In the early days of America the possessor and the doer were often one. In the opening of the West there was enough work to be done to create an empire in a hundred years, to occupy a nation of men—new tools to be made of wood, iron, and later of steel, bridges to be built, miles of roads on buffalo and Indian trails, canals to be dug, trees felled, bonanza wheat threshed, ore wheel-barrowed to lake ships, all to be done by two-handed, two-legged, heart-dynamoed man, with his shoulders, elbow grease, his bantam earth-spanning legs, and the queer skull-piece that keeps his backbone from unraveling.

A lion does not write a book.

The broken trail of the people must be followed by signs of their myriad folk experience in stories, myth, legend, proverb, reflecting their common struggle to survive; in the abandoned spore of old newspapers, folksay marking the rituals of living, birth, death, harvest, planting, the embroidery on the pillow, the democracy quilt. These signs are not to be found easily or read lightly, measured like rock, estimated as metal. Folkways are malleable. They disappear as inland rivers do and reappear to flood a continent. They are submerged by time, shadowed by events, by sudden jets of power changing into their opposite, a new harvest coming with a new tool.

What sextant can be used to shoot the sun of the people's migration into the West of America when the free lands were open and the Mississippi valley became the cradle of democracy for the world? With Jefferson's signing of the paper ceding the lands from Napoleon the West stood as a beacon, a spearhead of the furthest advance of man on this earth. Inventions along with new roads, new tools, philosophy opened new horizons to man's brain. The giant worker was hewing out a continent: scientific thought and democracy, the axe, the peavey, and the plow, were his tools.

In the new country in a few years, roads had to be built, thousands of ties cut and laid for the railroad, millions of trees felled and floated down the rivers. One guy said he cut enough timber in one year to build a privy six feet high and six feet wide, from Saginaw to the other side of the Erie Canal.

It was on the eve of the big steel era. Bessemer was learning how to make steel in twenty minutes. The great crust of the Algonquin rock lying in a ring of iron around the great lakes, in the ranges of the Mesabi, Vermilion, Cuyuna, Gogebic, Marquette, had to be shoveled into boats, into the holds, unloaded again in Ohio by hand, shoulder muscle, the small of the back, the loins of men working from can't see to can't see.

The bonanza farms in the West, with the inventions of the thresher, the binder, which were to destroy famine in the world, had to be harvested by thousands of men ready to thresh, winnow, store, haul and sack it. Canals had to be dug by mule and man. Thousands of men were shanghaied from immigrant ships; there were Germans, Scandinavians, Cornish miners, Croatians, Finns, Slavs, Russians, Irishmen, who with their colossal work went to make the legend of the giant worker, Paul Bunyan.

There were the handlers of tools and the makers of new tools. They made new languages. The Cornish Cousin (Cussin) jacks brought new salty words in their hats, said the ore was hungry and spoke of the Grass Captain and the Surface Boss, called the waste "dead," named the shaft mouth a "collar"; and a "touch pipe" was a rest.

The timber Bunyan made up words with the flying chips. He named himself a "flunkey," a "cookie," a "gyppo," "fink"—a word we needed in our language; a "boomer," "short staker," "powder monkey," "Bible pounder," a street-corner preacher; "skyhooker," top man on a sleigh; a "stiff," anyone without a white collar; "chiselerm," a "bindlestiff," "brains," the office man; an "axe handle hound," a "scissorbill," a dumb one who will not join the union.

He sang songs while digging roads and canals:

I love my pick and shovel,
I'll paint the handles red,
For without my pick and shovel
I couldn't earn my bread.

You'll be in despair when you wake,
Tomorrow in the morn,
But a few days of labor left
And your winter's stake all gone.

And the lake songs:

Oh, we're bound down from Marquette
My two hands are sore,
I've been pushing a wheelbarrow
And I'll do it no more.

This is an ore loading song:

Some sailors got shovels and others got spades,
And more got wheelbarrows, every man to his trade;
We worked like red devils, our fingers got sore,
And we cursed Escanaba and her damned iron ore.

The building of the railroads alone, with "an Irishman buried under every tie," is an epic without precedent. The *Fortnightly Review* describes the early railroad building, which lived in the imagination of men in cities, newspapers carrying banners as they do now of baseball. There were rivalry between gangs and huge bets in the stock exchange. In 1869 seven miles a day were laid by Jack Casement's army of Celts, while Charlie Crocker's Chinese raised it a mile. The day of the contest the whole nation waited. The Celts that day set a record, laying 25,000 ties, 3,500 rails,

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One of a series of five drawings for a mural in a San Francisco post office, by Anton Refregier.

and 7,000 plates which took 14,000 bolts and 55,000 spikes.

The great worker Bunyan was a walker, a long country-bred walker, from the old chief who paddled to Buffalo, left his canoe in the bushes and walked to Washington, to all the anonymous bindlestiffs who walked from camp to camp, from job to job, all they owned in the bundles on their backs, following the sound of the axe, the thresher, the hammer, and the pick. They were mighty wanderers and still are. They walked from Detroit, Grand Rapids, Chicago. They walked into St. Paul for the weekend and walked back on Monday; they walked from the Menominee Range down the shore of Green Bay to the Brule. After the country was logged off they went west into Oregon, Washington and California. They kept on walking until they stood at the ocean's edge, and then they walked back.

The mechanics, the lumberjacks, the lakemen, rivermen, woodcutters, ploughmen, the hunkies, hanyocks, whistlepunks; the Swedes beating the chaff from the threshed grain, the roof raisers, the cradlemakers, the writers of constitutions, the singers in the evening along unknown rivers; the stone masons, the quarrymen, all kept on building. Every seven years they picked up the loans, mortgages, the grasshopper-ridden fields, the lost acres, the flat bank accounts and went on, turned a new leaf, worked harder, went over far horizons.

Many, unknown, unmarked, went over that far horizon. Michael Rutanen, a Finnish poet lumberjack who worked for two decades in the north woods, and later died in the Soviet Union, wrote about the men of the woods.

Writing home Hans Ole told who should not come to the opening West: (1) Drunkards who will be detested and will perish miserably. (2) Those who neither can work nor have sufficient money to carry on a business. "I don't advise any persons to go unless they understand at least how to use oxen, or have learned a trade."

So hungry was the vast Mississippi Valley empire for men that they advertised for skeletons and soup line paupers of the East: "raw meat packaged loosely in original skin for Minnesota to manufacture into full grown workers; wrecked constitutions shaken to pieces by fever, ague, or Abolitionists to be repaired on the electric anvil of our blue sky. Send us your paupers, except lawyers. Have each bring at least one woman to cook, sew on a button. No namby-pamby women. We want girls to whip their weight in wildcats, outscream the cormorant, give the young badger heartache, and grace a wild home."

Poems appeared in the frontier newspapers to the man with the plow, the mechanics who built our cities; and to work generally.

I love the banging hammer, whirring plane,
The crashing of the buzz saw, creaking of the plane,
Ringing of the anvil, groaning of the drill,
The clanging of the turning lathes, whirring of the mill.

Buzzing of the spindle, rattle of the loom,
Puffing of the engine, fans' continual boom,
Clipping of the tractors, droning of the awl.
The ploughman's merry whistle, the reaper's evening call.
The drover's shouts, the thresher's notes
And the husker's mirth and jokes.

The maps sent to Louis XIV showing the crawl of the Mississippi, marking the tin and iron mines on buffalo hides, were not as momentous to history as the varied faces of the men and women fleeing Europe, those with the marks of the knout on their backs, the prison pallor, the famine color, the swamp hungers, and the many kinds of tough wild love of freedom.

The preceding piece is from a chapter in a forthcoming book by Miss Le Sueur. The second section will appear in next week's issue of NEW MASSES.

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SHOULD WE OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM?

A SYMPOSIUM (III)

Of all forms of racial discrimination, anti-Semitism has been particularly used by the Nazis as a weapon in waging their barbarous war against Gentile as well as Jew—against the whole of mankind. The agents and dupes of Nazism within the United Nations are likewise using Jew-baiting propaganda to divide, confuse and weaken the fight against fascism. To help clarify this problem NEW MASSES *invited a number of prominent Americans to participate in a symposium on the question. We asked the participants to reply to the following questions:*

1. Do you favor federal and state legislation to outlaw organized anti-Semitism as part of the fight against the evil? Please state your reasons.

2. Should newspapers and periodicals with second-class mailing privileges be exempted from liability under such legislation?

3. Do you think such legislation would violate freedom of speech?

4. Do you feel such legislation would benefit other minority groups, as well as the American people as a whole?

5. Do you believe that the United States, as a leading member of the United Nations, should take the initiative in securing action against anti-Semitism by the United Nations?

In our issues of January 30 and February 13 we published the first replies to these questions. Additional replies appear below; others will follow.

William Carlos Williams

Poet and Novelist

YES, I think there should be both state and federal legislation against organized anti-Semitism. The catch there is in the word "organized." How could there possibly be a legal organization of such a sort in the United States? But unorganized anti-Semitism if it appear justifiable to any thinking person must be safeguarded by the law. The body politic generally must reserve to itself the right to protect itself against any self-perpetuating group, racial or religious, which maintains itself as a separate unit within the general economy.

2. What kind of talk is this about second-class mailing privileges? Exempt no one.

3. There is no violation of freedom of speech where individuals as individuals, unorganized, are at liberty to say what they please for or against the Catholics, Protestants, Japanese, English or Jews living in the United States. It is the lack of candor, of responsibility, on both sides which is to be deplored and the fact that we do not sufficiently avail ourselves of our privilege of free speech which makes more trouble than anything else.

4. Such legislation might teach everybody a lesson but I see no particular benefit in it to other minority groups not so closely organized as the Jews—by their racial religion, I mean.

5. Do you mean *organized* anti-Semitism? If so, yes, we should take a leading part in banning it. The rest is as much up to the Jews as it is to anyone else. Let us do our part and, with the example of Russia before us, perhaps we shall do enough. Let us not at least try to protect Rothschild and Co.

Arthur W. Moulton

Bishop of Utah

I HAVE long been of the opinion that persecution of the Jews has always reacted harmfully upon all nations whose people have taken violent action against them. History from the days of the Roman Empire, to go no further back, up to the very moment proves this beyond question. Germany will realize this to her dreadful disadvantage in the not too distant future. I am eager to join any movement which will help and protect the Jews, and I am at present associated with a number of organizations in behalf of the Jewish people, both in regard to their return to Palestine and their protection against the hatred of the anti-Semites.

I do not find myself in complete agreement, however, with the groups who are seeking and urging legislation to help the cause, although, of course, I would favor it rather than oppose it; but legislation, especially in matters of this kind, never seems to get us very far, or to affect the matter in any vital way. Indeed, sometimes legislation has had, I regret to say, a contrary effect. I doubt if laws help much in these things. As far as dispositions and temperaments and habits of thought and human ethical judgments are concerned, we need less legislation rather than more.

At bottom this whole question of anti-Semitism is a matter of religious education and a frank approach to the Jews' place in history. Legislation without a change of heart will not help much. What sort of penalties could be administered for infractions of such laws? The Jew-haters might be forced underground, but hatred would not be abolished. If there can be no other way to reach anti-Semitism, let us have legislation; but there is another way; a better way and therefore much more difficult: namely, along the lines laid out for us all by our religious teachings. One need not be a clergyman or a teacher of religion to see this and believe it. There is something down *underneath* this anti-Semitism which we are all unwilling to bring to the surface. If we would agree to reach down and bring this up where we could all see it, we should then be on the way toward some progress.

On the whole I think sections of our people hate the Jews because they have been for the most part successful, and industrious, and humble, and clannish and tenaciously loyal to their religion—which religion is the background of Christianity. And of course the crucifixion has much to do with it. The Jewish mind, the Jewish intellect, the Jewish soul, and the Jewish passion have made great leaders of men and nations. We do not seem to be willing to recognize this, but we do seem to be altogether too ready to strike at the irritating and unacceptable traits, which, I regret to say, some of our Jewish people possess. However, they have no monopoly on these possessions.

The thing that impresses me about our Jewish people is their ability to withstand persecution and their humility under it all. I do not see much fighting back with resistance. I think I do see an appeal to history and the finer instincts of humanity and a desire to be helpful instead of hurtful.

The greatest Teacher the Heavenly Father ever sent to mankind came of a Jewish Mother. He said once in words we should like to expunge, but cannot, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." It will be what one might call *Heart Religion* that will solve the problem of anti-Semitism, and not legislation.

Edward Chodorov

Playwright

I AM glad I was late with my contribution to your symposium. It gave me the chance to read Albert Halper's extraordinary opinion [NEW MASSES, January 30]. I should like to say that it shocked me.

Mr. Halper does not believe that anti-Semitism can be outlawed or legislated out of existence. He does not believe in meetings, committees or educational work to that end. He does not believe that anything short of a complete uprooting of our "civilization," as he punctuates it, will help.

Now, Mr. Halper, you work, live, express your opinions and contribute boldly to a magazine called the NEW MASSES in the United States of America. All these you do freely and without fear. You are a Jew, I assume, and a progressive, God save the mark. You also must be an educated man to use words so handsomely. Does it occur to you that the right to do and be and use these things

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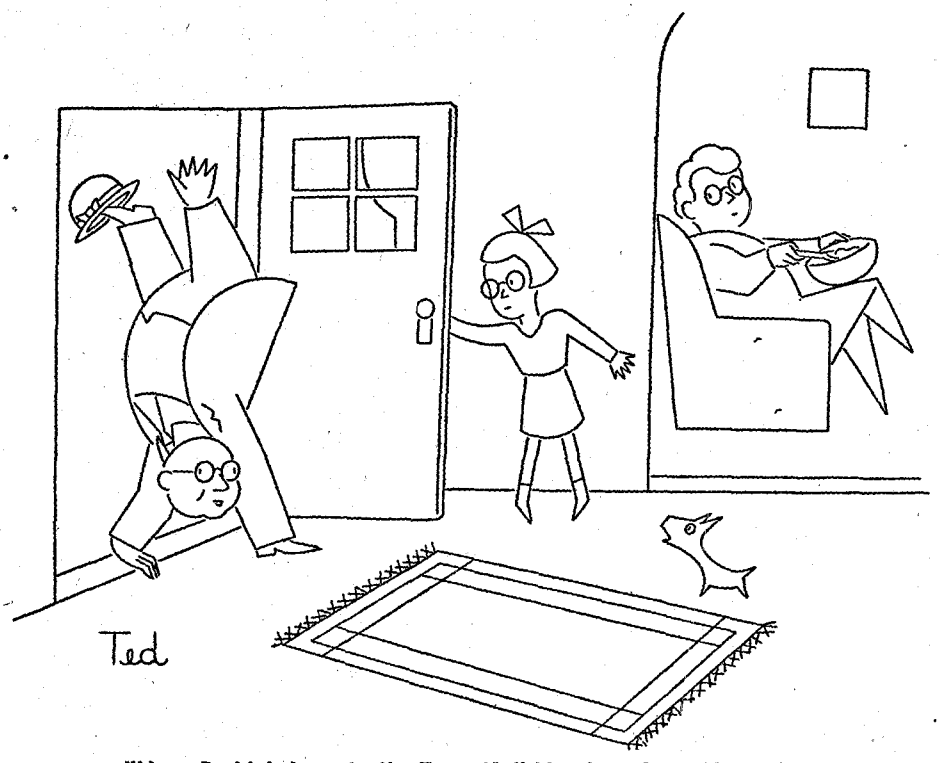

"Mom, Daddy's been to the Town Hall Meeting of the Air again."

were won for you? That many good men and women throughout our history held meetings and signed petitions and took beatings and became outcasts (and became heroes and heroines) so that you might enjoy the position in society you have today? It is very, very far from a perfect position, Mr. Halper. (Thank you for reminding us—we had forgotten and were all smiling with sublime content when you rudely jolted us.) It is far from a perfect civilization—but I think you will grant it is a cut above the civilization of the Spain that burned so many Jews—the Massachusetts that would not permit them legal residence—the New Amsterdam under Peter Stuyvesant that would not grant them citizenship—(won by meetings, protests and petitions, by the way)—the Polish ghetto and the German concentration camp, to name a few. Education and meetings, Mr. Halper, played a little part, I believe, in the establishment of successful socialism in one-sixth of the world's surface. Education and meetings played a more than modest part, I think, in the reelection of President Roosevelt. (Approve of that?) Education and meetings are good things, Mr. Halper, and have done good things for us all. This may come as a revelation, but you are a grown novelist now, and should be told.

If I am sarcastic it is because I think you deserve it. I think you mock in an unconscionably vulgar manner the persistent and selfless work of so many fine men and women who have been striving to expose, interpret and guide their communities throughout the land on the subject of anti-Semitism. It would take a whole issue of the NEW MASSES to list the many battles and the many victories—concrete, substantial and proven victories—over nastiness, bigotry and ignorance during the past year alone. But I pass over that in the hope that you will, as a "realistic novelist" should, find out for yourself. As a "realistic novelist," old boy, how about climbing down out of the ivory tower?

Even after civilization is uprooted, Mr. Halper, quite a lot of meetings on platforms, discussion and resolutions will have to take place. In the meantime, as an admirer of your work, how about a little less of the weary, tough guy role, and instead—an *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of anti-Semitism? The country needs it.

Charles H. Houston

Counsel, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

FIRST: Yes. Organized bigotry should be stopped by the government.

2. No.

3. No. Libel is not privileged.

4. Yes; legislation should be broadened to such effect.

5. Yes; in connection with organized hate campaigns against other groups.

Ray Lev

Concert Pianist

IN ANSWER to your first question:

Our penal codes are constantly being added to, to further combat evil in its various forms, by laws designed to stamp it out. Surely if it is a crime, for example, to spread false rumors about the solvency of a bank—then is it not a greater crime and a greater danger to the welfare of our nation to spread false statements about racial or religious minorities? By all means, let us have laws to outlaw anti-Semitism.

2. Newspapers and periodicals containing lewd and lascivious matter are barred from the mails. Why not carry the protection of our citizens to at least the same degree by barring attacks on minority groups?

3. As Justice Holmes said, freedom of speech does not include the right to yell "fire" in a crowded theater.

4. Obviously, wiping out any injustices against one minority group would benefit all groups.

5. Untold millions of oppressed peoples all over the world are looking to the leadership of the United States in this fight against fascism. Making anti-Semitism a criminal offense in the United States would be a major step in influencing the United Nations to follow suit.

Allen Wardwell

Member, Board of Directors, Russian War Relief

IN ANSWER to your questions:

1. No. I think that such proposed legislation is more likely to increase the trouble than to allay it.

2. As I am not in favor of such legislation the answer to question two is irrelevant.

3. Probably yes, but this is not the real reason for opposing the legislation.

4. No.

5. I think the United States should act in attempting to allay anti-Semitism by the United Nations. I do not know what is meant by the word "action." If it is in line with the proposal in regard to legislation I do not think we should have anything to do with it.

Henrietta Buckmaster

Novelist

I FAVOR every available means of combatting anti-Semitism—state, federal, social, political, economic means. Anti-Semitism is the indication of something rotten in the body, and when such corruption appears it must be cut out without mercy. I am a strong believer in legislative action if it is implemented and supported by intensive education. Anti-Semitism, like Jim-Crowism, must be hit from every level and at every angle at all times.

In my opinion, there is no abridgement of free speech in taking away the mailing privileges of newspapers and magazines which indulge in attacks against any minority groups. If open incitements to murder or theft were printed, law enforcement agencies would descend without delay. Anti-Semitism is the ultimate incitement to crime of every kind.

The United States has a tremendous moral responsibility to the world, and it is up to us, as citizens, to demand that this moral force is exercised not only to combat anti-Semitism, but to support all democratic activity.

Anti-Semitism is merely one manifestation of organized reaction, and to make anti-Semitism impossible is to weaken the monster at a most vulnerable point.

Lewis Merrill

President, United Office and Professional Workers of America-CIO

TO THE first question, yes. Because the full might of public authority must be used to stamp out this political bubonic plague which threatens America and can destroy it.

2. No. 3. No. 4. Yes. 5. Yes.

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CULTURE AND THE FUTURE

At the NEW MASSES *cultural awards dinner, held January 22, the recipients of the awards made a rich contribution to the understanding of the role of culture in the fight for a free world. The speeches of Howard Fast, Daniel Fitzpatrick, Max Weber, John Howard Lawson, Quentin Reynolds and Joseph North were published in the issues of February 6 and 13. We present below those of F. O. Matthiessen and Carl Van Doren.*

F. O. Matthiessen

I GUESS I have the distinction of being the only author of a book about Henry James who is also serving on the Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges. . . . The cultural values that such a dinner as this is concerned with were dramatized very vividly for me by the manuscript I read coming down on the train from Boston. Its title is "Essay on Rime." That title makes it sound as though it was written at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the school of Boileau or Alexander Pope. It was not so written. It was written by an American soldier who is just now completing three years in the Pacific, by the man who may very well emerge as our most important poet of the 1940's—Karl Shapiro. It is a long poem, of more than 2,000 lines, which he sent piece by piece back to this country. In it Shapiro reassesses the art of poetry today, its successes and failures during the past half-century, and by dealing searchingly with our central problems both of craftsmanship and belief, he plants the kind of cornerstone upon which the artists of our mid-century can build. This poem impressed me as few long poems have in the last ten years, as a major contribution. That such a poem could be written in such circumstances, away from all the usual resources of books and libraries, is the most deeply impressive kind of cultural affirmation.

Our good poets can be counted on to make such affirmations, but I wish that I could feel as sure of our critics. Too often they are what W. H. Auden has called them: "intellectuals without love." As a motto for the critic's true goal I should like to offer a statement by a great architect who was also a critic and a lover of poetry. As one of the founders of the modern functional school of architecture, Louis Sullivan declared Walt Whitman to be his master, and he thus suggests the fertile interplay between various branches of our culture with which the critic should be concerned. What Sullivan said once about the aims of scholarship I have already quoted in my book about the great age of our literature, the period of Whitman and Melville. I want to quote it again now, as a challenge to live up to.

"If, as I hold," Sullivan wrote, "true scholarship is of the highest usefulness because it implies the possession and application of the highest type of thought, imagination, and sympathy, the scholar's works must so reflect his scholarship as to prove that it has drawn him toward his people, not away from them; that his scholarship has been used as a means toward attaining their end, hence his. That his scholarship has been applied for the good and the enlightenment of all the people, not for the pampering of a class. His works must prove, in short (and the burden of proof is on him), that he is a citizen, not a lackey, a true exponent of democracy, not a tool of the most insidious form of anarchy. . . . In a democracy there can be but one fundamental test of citizenship, namely: Are you using such gifts as you possess for or against the people?"

That passage also expresses my deep gratitude for this evening, for the aims to which the artists and writers here are dedicated.

Carl Van Doren

I WRITE long books, so I shall make a short speech. Mr. [Robert] Rossen [acting as master of ceremonies for the dinner] says that I have been of some service to American history. Well, American history has been serviceable to me. Last fall, after a serious illness which had threatened me with loss of sight, I went out to speak in various parts of the country from Chicago to Texas. Naturally I talked with a great many people whom I met; and when I came back I was sure that Governor Dewey would not be elected President. My reason for feeling this was that I saw the wrong people were for him. Those who opposed President Roosevelt were painfully like the persons I had met in history who opposed that earlier New Deal which is more commonly known as the American Revolution. They were not in a majority in the eighteenth century, and I could not believe that their political descendants were in the majority in the twentieth.

As to the importance of historical biography in the present period, about which I have been asked to say a few words, it is important now as it always has been. Our age has been notable for the accomplishments of individual men. Think how different history would have been if Franklin Roosevelt had been assassinated in Florida, when the attempt was made, or if Winston Churchill had been killed in that taxicab accident in New York. No matter what forces may have joined to make Adolf Hitler the villain of the age's drama, he as a person has had an immense part in shaping his times.

In writing historical biography, the first thing to do is to find out what the subject really did. With Benjamin Franklin, whose life I wrote, that was enough. The true facts about him made him seem immense, if not incredible. Nobody could have invented Franklin if he had not lived. Nature had invented him, and nature is more inventive than any man can be. The problem was merely to find out the facts and give nature the credit.

Recent history helped me to understand Benedict Arnold, whose story I told in *Secret History of the American Revolution*. It has sometimes surprised me that so many refugees from Europe have read the book for the light it incidentally seemed to throw on Quisling and Laval. There was no good reason to be surprised. For the behavior of these modern traitors, so far as we know it, had helped me to throw light on Arnold. He is a classic traitor, and the pattern of treason is remarkably uniform. Traitors repeat themselves, and history tells us what to expect of new traitors as they come.

Let me cite another instance from American history which, I think, shows history looking forward. James Madison, in the forty-fifth paper of *The Federalist*, had something to say that rings with modern overtones. "Was, then, the

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American Revolution effected, was the American Confederacy formed, was the precious blood of thousands spilt, was the well-earned substance of millions lavished, not that the people of America should enjoy peace, liberty and safety, but that the governments of the individual states, the particular municipal establishments, might enjoy a certain amount of power, and be arrayed with certain dignities and attributes of sovereignty? . . . It is too early for politicians to presume on our forgetting that the public good, the real welfare of the great body of the people, is the supreme object to be pursued; and that no form of government has any other value than as it may be fitted for the attainment of this object." Madison was speaking about the need of organizing the United States. His words, with almost no changes, now sound like arguments in favor of the United Nations. Americans, facing the problem of the United Nations, face a problem very much like their old problem of the United States.

READERS' FORUM

Notes from China

TO NEW MASSES: Perhaps you readers will be interested in the following excerpts from letters from my husband who is stationed in China.

Croton-on-Hudson. J. P.

AFTER a rather wonderful plane trip we are now in China. The country we flew over was truly magnificent, with the mountains climbing out of steaming jungle. In town we spent quite a while shopping. The city is dirty and crowded, with little to show there's a war except for the prices and extensive black market activity. We passed small coal mines, dug and worked by hand. Women with feet bound laboring under staggering loads. Ox-carts with solid wooden wheels. But we saw the poor Chinese flocking around the flower market, walking away with armfuls of giant tulips, smiling, singing and laughing. . . . We went to visit three Chinese friends yesterday. Of course, there is nothing at all that could be confused with luxury in the entire town, so we weren't expecting much. This was on the top floor of a rather decrepit and ancient building. The room was bare except for a table and a bed, and a smaller table laden with wonderful books that would do any library proud. We talked about the politics of China, the people, their aspirations and organizations . . . the army, the history and the future of Sino-American relations. They played some records of Chinese opera for us, which seemed wailing and screeching to our Western ears; but later they sang some wonderful, heroic songs—tender music of a brave but brokenhearted people—the music of Manchuria, of the north country and of the south, of the lover and the soldier. Morris and I are going to undertake a little fund-raising for the benefit of the War Literary Writers Anti-Japanese Association, which has the stupendous task of keeping alive the authors best able to explain China and her multitude of problems. . . .

I just heard yesterday of a guy who has been here almost three years. About a year ago he was shot down over enemy territory and helped out of it and back to his base by Chinese peasants. He was due to go home, but instead he signed up for another year. He felt that he would be letting down the people who had saved him and befriended him if he left at this time. That is a big thing. Not the kind of thing that gets a medal, but certainly deserves one. . . .

The other evening, I passed an open-fronted tea shop in town. There was a rather disreputable looking character lounging on a dais in the back of the shop, bearded, dirty and ill-clothed. And an audience of a couple of hundred sat listening, drinking their tea, very sombre and respectful. The lounger was a historian, who narrated epics in Chinese history, a story-teller. And every night he continues his tales. His is a respected position in any community; and watching him, I saw visions of some reciter of history after this war, telling of long marches, of treachery, and of final victory.

T/3 RICHARD PASTOR.

Jobs and Security

TO NEW MASSES: The position of the American workman's economic security has changed so gradually during the last century that many members of our economy are not yet quite sure where they stand in relation to their jobs, to each other, and to the entire economy itself. The average workman without quite knowing it has always been interested in job security. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, it has been estimated that ninety percent of the inhabitants were engaged directly or indirectly in agricultural work. These were the days when the frontier dominated the life of all of America. When a man tired of his job or was dissatisfied with his pay, working conditions, or security, he could quit and go farther west until he found a farm which satisfied him. There he would go to farming for himself.

Through this process the worker early began to connect with land the idea of job security. On the farm a man did not worry about his job, for there was always plenty of work to do. Furthermore he did not concern himself very seriously with poor working conditions or with the high cost of living. Farmers raised about everything they needed. What they did not raise, they obtained through barter.

At the beginning of the twentieth century conditions had changed extensively. Vast industries had grown up and forced agriculture to a seat of secondary importance. Whereas in the century before most workmen had been connected with land, now most workmen were connected with industrial factories with the result that land no longer offered the possibilities of security which it formerly had. Agriculture no longer offered opportunities for workmen who lost their jobs in the factories whenever a depression came upon the scene. As the years passed agricultural conditions became even more unfavorable. With the arrival of the depression of the 1930's, men had lost their job security and could not find it in land as they had done before.

Today workmen are coming to realize that if they are to obtain security they must find it in their jobs. That is why the worker of today fears unemployment to such a great extent. When a man loses his job he loses his security. The whole emphasis at the present time is on the extension of job rights and job security. The demand for a steady job, for minimum wages, and for a guaranteed annual wage are all part of the new emphasis.

In the past the institution of private property enabled the worker to obtain his security through it. What the worker at that time was really interested in, although in most cases he did not recognize it as being independent of property rights, was job rights. Some among us still confuse property rights with job rights. Whereas in the 1800's a worker obtained his job security and job rights through the ownership of land, he must today secure job security and rights through his job.

If this economic change which has taken place were more widely recognized and understood, there would be less friction among the industrial owner-manager class and the worker class. If the United States is to ride through the violent storms of future depressions, her law makers, employers, and employes must clearly realize that the role of private property in our industrialized economy has been considerably altered. In order for harmony among all the human elements to be achieved, it is absolutely necessary for all to understand that the worker must be given security in his job.

Rocky River, Ohio. JACOB O. KAMM.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Strikes and the WLB

PUBLIC members of the War Labor Board have once again demonstrated their lack of statesmanship in handling the problems involved in labor's wage demands. Their recommendation to the President against revision of the Little Steel formula is not only shortsighted and unjust, but it plays into the hands of men who seek to undermine the war effort through deliberate violation of labor's no-strike pledge. The public members' report, which is supported by the industry members, will be used to cover up the real motives behind the action of the executive board of the Textile Workers Union (TWU) in rescinding the no-strike pledge to the nation for 100,000 cotton workers.

This act is no innocent protest against the deplorable procrastinations and the uneven functioning of the WLB. It is a direct attack on our war effort on the eve of the battles for decision on the Western Front. The textile workers have just grievances. The wage raise they, together with the packinghouse workers, received on the day their leaders repudiated the no-strike pledge is inadequate. Workers in many other industries have similar grievances. Even though some of these grievances are being partially satisfied, as in the case of the steel workers, there is much justified discontent with the WLB. It is relatively easy for unscrupulous men to borrow a leaf from John L. Lewis and translate this discontent into strike action. Minor officials have from time to time pulled wildcat strikes. But now a national CIO union, under the leadership of a former member of the WLB, President Emil Rieve, has in violation of the decisions of the last CIO convention given official sanction to its local unions to take matters into their own hands irrespective of the effect on the war.

The kind of leadership represented by Rieve, Lewis, Samuel Wolchok of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes, and Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers is basically anti-CIO and anti-United States. This gambling with strikes is a knife in the back not only of our boys who are sacrificing everything on the Western Front and in the Pacific, but of labor itself. Large numbers of workers are having their patience tried and the latest action of the majority of the War Labor Board has only served to inflame them further. But strikes can only make the task of winning improvements all the more difficult. The question is whether the CIO is to follow Philip Murray or John L. Lewis. To follow Philip Murray means to repudiate in unambiguous terms the sabotage of the Rieves and Reuthers.

The WLB is an important instrument of the war effort, but it is being seriously undermined by the vacillation and shortsightedness of its public members. The revision of the Little Steel formula should not be regarded as a special labor interest. What is, in fact, involved is the *national interest*. And the report of the WLB public members proves it negatively by arguing from premises that are *contrary* to the national interest. The report claims that no upward revision of the Little Steel formula is necessary because "adjusted straight-time hourly earnings" have increased 36.7 percent since January 1941, while the cost of living has risen only 29.5 percent. This cost of living figure is an "improved" version of the discredited figure of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which is some four or five percent lower. The AFL and CIO place the increase at about forty-three percent, which most Americans would find more in accord with their own experience.

But even accepting the WLB majority's figure, it is pointed out by the AFL and CIO members that the board majority has devised a new basis for calculating the rise in hourly earnings. Scheduled occupational wage rates have gone up only 19.5 percent since January 1941. In order to arrive at the higher figure, the public members have included such temporary wartime factors as incentive payments, increased night shift premiums, merit increases and promotions. In other words, they propose to penalize workers who boost production above the norm or do superior work by denying them the possibility of raising their basic wage rates. Thus, while the War Production Board is encouraging incentive payments and merit increases, the majority of the War Labor Board is publicly discouraging them!

It is a pity that President Roosevelt, whose burdens are already heavy enough, is being so poorly served by the WLB majority. We hope, nevertheless, he overrules their myopic findings and deprives the Lewis', Rieves and Reuthers of a major weapon against the war effort.

The People Win

BARRING some unforeseen setback, not anticipated as we go to press, the Ives-Quinn bill establishing a permanent FEPC in New York State should have passed both the Senate and Assembly by the time this issue appears. The big battle occurred on February 20 at the public hearing before a legislative committee. What had originally been planned as a device to defeat the measure was turned into a notable victory for the vast majority in the state who favor the bill. The whole lengthy strategy of the opposition, in fact, boomeranged. In last year's session Governor Dewey blocked the measure by calling for another and completely unnecessary investigation into discriminatory practices, a move which contributed to his defeat in the fall elections. A new measure was thereupon introduced at the opening of the state legislature's present session. Such reactionaries as Senators Bontecou and Coudert spoke sharply against it, claiming the support of businessmen throughout the state. The governor said nothing until public opinion had expressed itself so overwhelmingly for the bill that he had no choice but to jump lamely on the bandwagon.

The public hearings were sensational in their manifestation of the wholehearted support of nearly every sector of the state community for the principles of nondiscrimination. Coudert's claims regarding business opposition to the measure were proved false. While a number of trade body representatives spoke against the bill, in many instances where it was possible to check the opinion of the membership whom they purported to represent, their performance was proved to be a fraud. The result was that a large number of legislative fence-sitters, unable to keep their precarious balance against the tremendous barrage of public opinion, joined the victorious majority.

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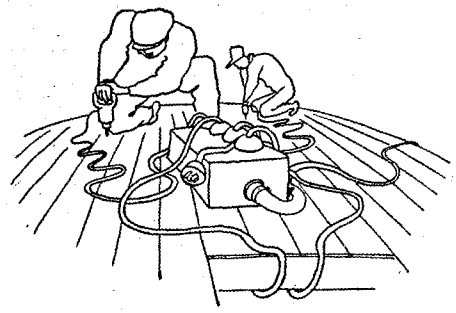
Labor and church organizations, legal bodies and representatives of minority groups all deserve credit for this triumph over bigotry and reaction. New York State is setting a precedent which may well be copied by other states and by the federal Congress.

Communists in the Army

WHATEVER its original prejudices about Communists and Communist sympathizers, the War Department has learned in the last three years that they are among the best troops in the Army's ranks and that to restrict the use of their services is to deprive the Army of excellent talent. There is an imposing list of Communists who have died in battle on every American front. They fought hard and loyally because their political understanding taught them the nature of the enemy. They were exemplary soldiers because their convictions deepened their love of country. Among them have been Capt. Alexander Suer, who won the Distinguished Service Cross and Oak Leaf Cluster before he succumbed to wounds received in Belgium. There are others: Hank Forbes, Harold Spring, Seymour Keidan, Meyer Laderman—all dead now. And among those who survived is Staff Sgt. Robert Thompson, holder of the Distinguished Service Cross, and since his release from the Army a vice president of the Communist Political Association.

It would seem that in honor to them it would not be necessary to defend them. Their deeds are their best defense. But the Chicago *Tribune* and Representatives May and Rankin are on the warpath against the Army for issuing an order countermanding previous instructions barring Communists from commissions and certain duties. Of course, the opposition to the new Army ruling would come from such "democrats" as Rankin, the anti-Semite; May, the Negro-baiter; and Colonel McCormick, the fomenter of treason. A good many people will recognize this as a blatant attempt to keep the Army from running its own affairs, just as they will see in the Army's official change of attitude a maturity worthy of the millions of anti-fascists who form its personnel. Lincoln had no hesitation to commission Communists in the Union forces. Nor did General Eisenhower hesitate to send a telegram of appreciation recently to the Guilford Branch of the Communist Party of London thanking its members for their pledge of support. Rankin and May and McCormick may not like it, but that's how the world is these days.



Konzal

New Currents

THERE is a fresh breeze whipping the ivy on the walls of some of America's oldest institutions of learning. The surge of people's movements has eddied into the corners of our cultural centers bringing new values and new appraisals of old ideals. At times the impact is sharp, as when the editorial of a twenty-two-year-old student defending social equality for Negroes brought a whirlwind into the sleepy southern town of Williamsburg, Virginia, and the students stood up bravely for their right to say what they believed, to fight for a more democratic world. At other points the victories are quiet, strong steps forward. Such a step was the appointment of Mrs. Adelaide Cromwell Hill as instructor in sociology at Smith College. Mrs. Hill will be the first Negro to serve on the faculty of Smith. She is an alumna of the college, graduated with honors in 1940. She took her Masters at the University of Pennsylvania and is studying for her doctorate at Harvard University. She had taught at Hunter College in New York. There need to be many more such appointments until the last vestige of feeling that education belongs to an aristocracy is supplanted by one that proudly acclaims its democracy.

The Chaplin Smear

EVERYONE who read Charlie Chaplin's statement in reply to Senator Langer's demand that he be deported must have felt a deep sense of shame at this renewed attempt at character assassination. The Langer onslaught is the climax to one of the most degraded newspaper campaigns in many decades. It has known no bounds and as Chaplin charges "it has been going on for four years, ever since I made an anti-Nazi picture, *The Great Dictator*." The persecution reached even greater fury, he states, "after I dared speak on behalf of Russia urging the Allies to open a second front. For this I was bitterly attacked by reactionary columnists using every device to discredit me with the public." The inspiration for the recent lurid trials in a California courtroom he attributes directly to pro-Nazis and reactionaries who are eager to see him banished "from the country for which my two sons are fighting overseas." That this final effort to smear Chaplin comes from one of the most notorious pro-fascist figures in the Senate is merely proof that not all the wreckers of a liberal culture are in Berlin.

Arabian Days

FOR many Americans whose sole knowledge of the Arab world comes either from a reading of the Lawrence saga or the *Arabian Nights*, the meeting between Mr. Roosevelt and the rulers of Egypt, Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia has a luster and glamor worthy of the most picturesque Hollywood imagination. Emperor Hailie Selassie's people are by and large Christians, but King Farouk and Ibn Saud are at the center of Arab-Moslem civilization with its 275,000,000 people stretching from Africa into Asia. This civilization is a complex of religions and pastoral economies that frequently baffles the western mind, and it is also an area of the globe where unsettled controversies will have their effects on the peace. Until the landings in North Africa American policy in those regions was almost non-existent, but it has developed rather rapidly under the stress of war. It is clear that the President's discussions in the Suez will lead to greater participation of our government in the affairs of the Near and Middle East. For one, the question of our future oil reserves is involved, and for another, the Near East is a pivot in inter-continental communications both by sea and air.

Naturally the British are fearful of American intentions in an area where London controls most of the tremendous Near Eastern oil supplies. The British view us as competitors and the issues around these fears may explode unless they are settled equitably by agreement. There is also the quarrel between France and Lebanon and Syria. Both these latter states demand the end of the French mandate and complete control over military forces within their borders. They naturally have the sympathy of other Arab countries whose aspirations for unity and independence were again voiced in the conference on Arab federation which began February 14 in Cairo. There is also the Palestinian question, on which little or no progress has been made. And moving hand in hand with all these political issues is the economic future of these terribly backward

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agrarian countries. The United States has tremendous prestige in the Middle East and its influence can be a highly positive one in building a stability and prosperity which will keep these countries from falling prey to aggressors.

In Peace or War

"THE creation of such an army in the very jaws of the appalling initial defeats will always remain one of the most amazing achievements in history . . . the [Soviet] system itself showed startling powers of evoking, mobilizing and directing the human and material reserves available." The recent New York *Herald Tribune* editorial from which these quotations are drawn also spoke of "the most up-to-date equipment" and "the invincible morale of the Red Army" and remarked that "the Communist system . . . probably is better for waging war [than our own]."

These praises were elicited by the celebration of Red Army Day and the remarkable series of articles of the *Herald Tribune's* correspondent, Maurice Hindus, who has just returned from the Soviet Union. But this tribute to our Soviet ally ends on a note of doubt—the question: Will the Soviet Union meet the test of peace as successfully as it has met the test of war?

Do the *Tribune* editors recall that on the eve of the war commentators were claiming that the Soviet economic successes of the brief and precarious interval of peace would not survive the first blows of war? It was these very achievements in the all-too-short and difficult period of peace that made possible the Soviet war achievements. It is a safe prediction that the other democratic peoples of the world will find the powerful peacetime economy of the Soviet democracy as necessary and decisive a bulwark as its Red Army and its efficient organization for war has proved to be.

Water for Two Lands

THE Senate Foreign Relations Committee has for some weeks been conducting hearings on a treaty with Mexico, signed over a year ago, concerning the waters of the Rio Grande, the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers. After long and harassing delay, the hearings have at last been ended. The treaty itself is highly technical, having been drawn up by engineers to provide for the damming, storing and equitable allocation of the vast waters of these three rivers between the United States and Mexico. And because of the agreement's technicalities the country is not sufficiently aware of the great political importance of immediate ratification by the Senate.

Senate consideration of this treaty coincides with the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, where the firmness of our intentions to extend the Good Neighbor policy into the postwar period is being put to the test.

It is obvious that a defeat of the treaty would deal a serious blow to hemisphere relations. Opposition to it comes from two quarters. California opinion seems to take the view that no water which might in some conceivable manner eventually find its way to that state's valleys should be retained or allocated to any one else, even to Mexico, through which sections of all three of these rivers run. Fortunately opinion in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Utah and Wyoming in general favors ratification. There would be no danger of defeat if California were the only source of opposition. But as usual we have to deal with a second source, those Republicans who snipe at any and all measures which have administration sponsorship. There is a possibility that their votes, combined with those from California, can obstruct its ratification. For this reason national opinion must speak out promptly to avoid serious damage to the policy of good neighborliness.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

ASSAULT ON THE RHINE

FEBRUARY 22 and 23, 1945, will go down in history as perhaps the most significant and decisive double date of this war. For the time between the birthday of the leader of America's Army and the birthday of the USSR's Army was precisely the fateful night when American regiments were moving up to the front line facing the Cologne Plain and American artillery was making the last preparations for laying down the mighty barrage which ushered in the big push.

Four hundred miles to the east Soviet regiments were completing the liquidation of the German garrison of 50,000 men in the great Polish fortress of Posnan, thus opening the way for a renewed assault on the Berlin fortified area.

And so it came to pass that Feb. 23, 1945, became a date of which it will be said: "that was *before* Feb. 23, 1945" or "that was *after* Feb. 23, 1945"—the date when the first truly coordinated assault on Germany by the Eastern and Western Allies began.

AS THIS is written (February 26) the fortresses of Juelich and Dueren have fallen to the Ninth and First American Armies who are now advancing on Cologne. To the north the Canadians and British are near Calcar, compressing the right flank of the enemy fighting space west of the Rhine. To the south the American Third Army is drilling down the valley of the Moselle and is near the fortress of Trier, compressing the left flank of the enemy fighting space and possibly aiming at cutting off the Emmerich-Coblenz-Trier triangle of that space from the fortified area between the Saar and the Rhine—the incision to be made along the Trier-Coblenz line. Meanwhile the American Seventh Army is exerting what looks like holding pressure precisely on that fortified area, preventing the enemy from shifting troops from here to the north.

All this is the push to the Rhine which will be the first really big water barrier yet encountered by American troops. The Seine, Somme, Marne, Moselle, and of course the Pruem, Roer, Our, Saar, etc., are not much as rivers go. The Loire and Rhone were not really defended by the enemy. Thus the only real water barriers forced by Allied troops were the Maas and Waal in Holland which the

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British-Canadians crossed in September.

An important tactical-operational test will thus come at the Rhine. Radio-correspondents and news analysts have been stressing the point that General Eisenhower intends to destroy "all German forces *west* of the Rhine," the word "west" being emphasized by repetition and vocal accent. This is no doubt the intention. However, the question is: how many German troops will there be to destroy *west* of the Rhine? The pattern of the operation so far suggests a "squeeze" from all sides (Goch, Juelich, Dueren, Pruem, Trier) without any breakthrough leading to eventual encirclement taking shape yet. Furthermore, the fighting space west of the Rhine is so shallow that a deep maneuver appears to be hardly possible. In other words it seems hardly advisable to count on a battle for a decision to take place *west* of the Rhine. To put it in a different way: we will have to fight very hard for the Rhine, just as the Red Army had to fight and has to fight very hard for the Oder. Leaving aside the fact that Frankfurt is thirty-five miles from Berlin while Cologne is about 300 miles from the capital, the two key points are now precisely Cologne and Frankfurt. However, the difference between them is this: Frankfurt can be much more easily by-passed than Cologne because the Red Army has already crossed the Oder and the Bober and the Neisse, while we still have the Rhine ahead of us on all sectors of the front, from the Swiss border to the North Sea.

Thus it is rather clear that barring a sudden and unlikely German collapse from the *inside*, the Allied operation west of the Rhine is only a preliminary, and *the big show will come on the Rhine*. The best thing would be to have the storming of the Rhine by the Anglo-Americans coincide with the storming of the Berlin Fortified Area by the Red Army, with a simultaneous irruption into the common rear of both German fronts, between the Weser and the Elbe. This would signal the inevitable military (i.e., independent of an internal upheaval) collapse of both fronts.

Such a collapse, however, would not necessarily mean that we could enjoy peace in Europe and start its reconstruction immediately. It is entirely possible and even probable, as I pointed out here many months ago that picked Wehrmacht units, officer-regiments and Nazi Party formations (SS and others) would flow from the disintegrating fronts precisely through the Weser-Elbe corridor southward to seek refuge in the Alpine areas of Bavaria, the Tyrol, Austria and Bohemia. Such a movement would take place by infiltration (or should we say *ex*filtration?), in small groups, off the great highways, via Nuremberg and Munich southward.

It is entirely probable that great stores of arms and ammunition, and food have already been assembled in the Alpine area. In this connection it is interesting to note that prisoner-of-war camps have been moved from Eastern Germany southwestward, in the direction of Nuremberg and Munich. Thus the Nazis are assuring their possession of Allied hostages for bargaining at the last minute. Many government institutions are reported to have been moved from Berlin to Nuremberg.

Look at the military symptoms. The Germans have lost Budapest and with it 175,000 men. They have lost valuable first-class reserves to save the city. Now, having lost it, they continue to lose men by the thousands and tanks by the score in daily counterattacks on the Danube, east of Komarno. Why are they doing this? Obviously because they are trying to protect the gateway to the mountain region from the *east*. They held on to Budapest for fifty days. They are holding on to Breslau. They will hold on to Dresden and Bratislava, and then Nuremberg and Vienna for exactly the same purpose: so that Allied armies may not enter either the Fastness from any side or cut it off from the north German plain *before* the process of *ex*filtration from the two main fronts has been at least partly completed—and that means before the two main fronts have been irrevocably shattered. Basically, the Rhine front must fold up clockwise pivoting around, say, Karlsruhe, and the Oder-Neisse front must fold up counter-clockwise, pivoting around, say, Dresden.

The stubborn German defense in Italy is most probably a part of the same plan and is designed to protect the Fastness from the *south*. In the *west* the Germans count on the Rhine, the Black Forest and the weakness of our right wing.

Thus after the decisive battles on the Rhine and the Spree where the "regular" phase of the war must end, the "irregular" war against Nazi last-stand hideouts will probably start. Such hideouts are possible not only in the Alpine fastness, but also in Norway, Moravia and Croatia. How long such a war will last is impossible to foretell, for the Nazis will be driven on by the maxim that "there is always time to hang."

MANILA, with Cavite and the strongholds of Corregidor and Bataan are ours and our naval power is thus only 750 miles from Hong Kong. The route from San Francisco to Manila through San Bernadino Strait is clear. Iwo Island is well on the way to becoming ours completely. This island which looks like a Blue-Point oyster three miles wide and five miles long is in relation to Tokyo what Bermuda is to New York—an outpost 750 miles away. However, there is no land between Bermuda and Sandy Hook, but there are other islands between Iwo and Tokyo—the Bonins and the Nanpo and Izu-Shichito chains.

Iwo has two airfields and from here our bombers (other than B-29's) and even some fighters will be able to operate over Japan, just as bombers and fighters will be able to operate over Hong Kong, Swatow, Amoy, Hainan and Formosa from Luzon. This is why the Japanese fight so desperately for Iwo where three of our magnificent Marine divisions are deployed on a very narrow front. The island is volcanic and those who have to dig in as they go are at a great disadvantage in comparison with those who have been "dug in" for years. However, an aerial base within two-and-one-half-hours' flight from Tokyo is such an important objective that it is well worth the comparatively high losses which we have incurred so far. However costly, the thing had to be done. On Iwo our fighting men are less than half the distance from Tokyo than ever at any time before—on *terra firma*, of course.

Tess Slesinger

Death at the age of thirty-nine has cut short a brilliant literary career. Tess Slesinger, whose co-adaptation with her husband, Frank Davis, of "A Tree Grows In Brooklyn" opens this week, won note as a short story and film writer. The collection of her stories in "The Unpossessed" was the sensation of its season, but in that same season she was one of a group of writers arrested for picketing with the striking workers of a publishing house. Never since then had her name been disassociated from progressive and anti-fascist causes. And this doubles the weight of her loss. The world cannot afford the cutting short of such a life.

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ESCAPE TO LIFE

Egon Hostovsky's "The Hideout," reviewed by Isidor Schneider

SOVIET history, and our own, if you read it well, has shown that hope as well as tragic emergency can act as releases for men; but in this grim time, it is the triggers of war that unloose heroism and genius. This the Czech writer, Egon Hostovsky, illuminates for us in a remarkable novel of a man who could not emerge from a spiritual den until, reduced to living like an animal, he broke from a physical den and soared into heroism.*

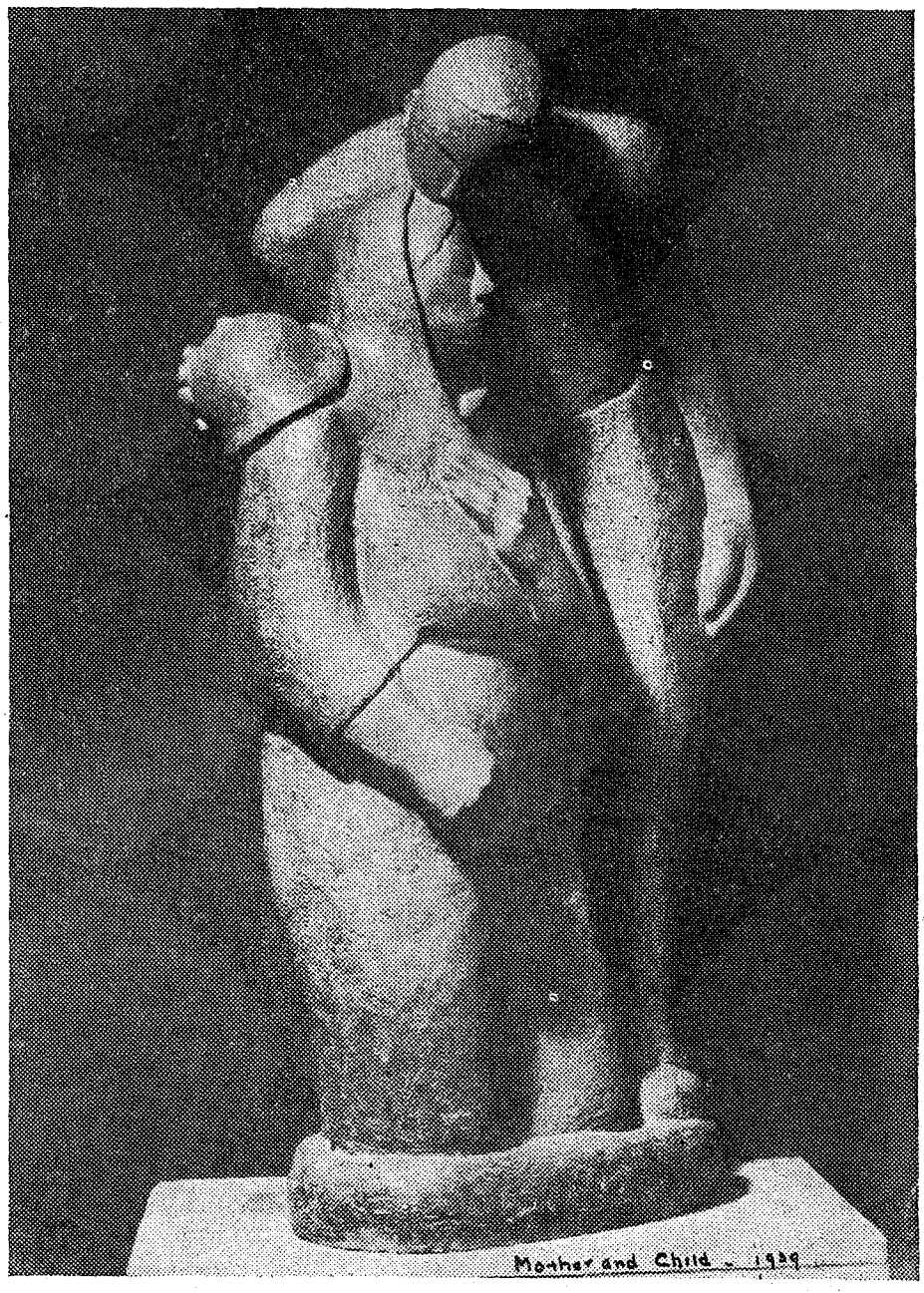
An engineer and inventor, he had sunk into the featherbed isolation of bourgeois success and felt half stifled in it. The story is his road from isolation to reunion with humanity. It is told in a long letter to his wife, a letter throbbing with exultation and penitence, in which he tries to explain events whose meanings have become clear to him at last.

The memories gone over in the letter begin in the confused days of the Munich betrayal. After destroying the blueprints of a gunsight he has invented he discovers that the director of his factory is a quisling and has negotiated the sale of the gunsight to the Germans. At the dinner where he learns it, an attractive Jewish woman with whom he has had a unfulfilled relationship comes to say goodby; she is on her way to refuge in Paris. All through the evening his secretary, who has arrived with the director, cannot conceal her agitation. And these harassing impressions merge with the realization that his daughters, whom he has caught smoking, have suddenly become estranged from him in new found maturity.

An impulse to settle something, at least, in this chaos, takes him on a secret pursuit of the fleeing woman. In a Paris cafe, in a meeting which, by the usual standards, is a success—for she accepts him as a lover—he feels disillusioned, not by the woman, in whom he senses the same disillusionment, but by life. Something is touching it that disarranges the affair that has just been arranged. He prepares to return to his family when he receives a letter from his secretary confessing her love for him and warning him that the Germans, furious over losing his gunsight, are hunting him, and that he must stay away.

The forced separation from his country and his family becomes the first stage in the physical isolation that ends in a cellar-life as subterranean as a mole's. There he comes to understand the joy of human fellowship and the freedom possible only within it. His yearning for it grows so strong that he accepts it even when its price is death. The long letter is cut short by the summons to the exhilarating hours of life in, and for, a chosen human fellowship and for the first use of his skill that will be joyously voluntary though it will bring his death.

It is not easy to communicate the remarkable tension maintained in this story. As absorbing reading it matches



"Mother and Child," by Dorothy Offner. Currently on exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum.

* THE HIDEOUT, *by Egon Hostovsky. Translated from the Czech by Fern Long. Random House. $1.75.*

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any popular novel, yet it does without the customary devices. There is no brisk dialogue, no whimsicality of character, little "action" in the ordinary sense. But somehow the compelling exultation which moves its hero has been breathed into the writing. Somehow crucial relations are communicated, decisive deeds are done, and the process by which an "ordinary" man springs into heroism seems as natural as growth.

The quality of thinking here is high, as is the quality of the writing. There is something in the effect of this book, with its single character, that is akin to the subtle and significant gestures of the dancer, Angna Enters, whose performances held audiences breathless when, though alone on the stage, she filled it with movement and people.

I have mentioned the embodiment of the spiritual isolation in the engineer's exile and immurement. This is only one instance of the symbolic sense with which Hostovsky heightens his realism. As his other writing available in English shows, this is one of his special gifts. Hostovsky's use of the symbol is not imposed upon but rises out of events, as in life we are constantly impressed with coincidences and connotations. The critics who have called for the taking over of the symbolic method of Kafka will perhaps see their wish realized here. But it is probable that it is not a taking over but a personal development. Hostovsky's symbolic structure has its own rather than Kafka's characteristics and are part of a distinct literary personality.

Most important, these gifts are so used on a theme of our time as to make it relevant to any time, yet heighten its significance in our own.

The Print Is Blurred

BIRTH IS FAREWELL, *poems by Dilys Bennett Laing. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $1.75.*

BECAUSE Miss Laing is obviously a poet of unusual gifts, occasionally of genius, her second volume deserves more severe examination than would the work of a lesser artist.

Here is a fascinating book. Wrestling always manages to keep the attention focussed, and some first-class battles run through these pages. First, there is the struggle for altitude: where shall the poet's observatory be? Part of the time she intrudes herself into the privacy of anguished scenes anywhere:

"To a Killed Civilian"

The utmost mercy has you in its hand.
It even hides from you the way your blood
seeps from the broken flagon of your lungs
liked wasted wine along the echoing street . . .

or "Ernst Toller"

Yes, it is I who in the verminous cell
hang grey and heavy from the ragged noose
tied out of strips of blanket . . .

or "Poland"

. . . while the children drown
mothers and fathers hear them and go mad . . .

or a lynching, or a son off to war, or a soldier dead. Passionate sympathy underlines each of these expressions.

But the poet grows restless on ground, and builds herself a "tall tower," where

. . . the view widens
and the star comes down
and the separate houses
are a single town.

From this tower she looks philosophically upon time and eternity, attempting to create her own set of metaphysical laws. In an elegy to her father this effort is most ambitiously undertaken: future and past are linked from generation to generation, and beyond life a meeting-place in eternity is possible. Seeing that change and death are the only certainties (a fact already well advertised, and worn terribly thin by poets) Miss Laing rolls up her sleeves undismayed, and manages to put it across effectively, if unnecessarily, in several poems, even stopping to give us some fine instruction:

. . . if every man
remembered every day that he must die,
he would not break his heart for power or money,
but break it up as bread and give it away.

As happens frequently to Towerites, however, "the separate houses" become lost by merging into "a single town." The whole landscape changes its shape and color through this dangerously high perspective:

The words are smeared to nonsense.
I thought a poem might afford me peace
or faith or courage. But the print is blurred:
the planet shakes so much.

She bitterly satirizes the war in "Advice to Heroes," looks down her nose at a housewife, "Mrs.," whose mind seems to store no unfulfilled desires, makes of man a ridiculously tiny criminal-victim in "Northwest," calls love a plaything in the hand of death (in the final section of the elegy), places "flesh" and "the moment" in a losing contrast with "soul" and "forever."

Another wrestling-match develops on the question of style. Simplicity or cleverness—privacy or universality—obscurity or revelation—which shall be accented? Samples are given of all these, revealing not only the poet's versatility, but a conflict within her own mind over the type of audience she desires.

These inconsistencies may have value apart from their ability to make a fascinating book, with new surprises waiting on each pages. Standing on earth and at the same time leaning from a tower can perhaps reveal different sides of one Truth. Out of deep, contradictory probings, a dazzling resolution may emerge, conflict being life's assurance of progress, and a healthy sign of growth within the individual. But nothing finally emerges from this volume except the poetic power of its author.

AARON KRAMER.

Plan for Plenty

MOBILIZING FOR ABUNDANCE, *by Robert R. Nathan. McGraw-Hill. $2.00.*

IN *Mobilizing for Abundance* Mr. Nathan, chairman of the Planning Commission of the War Production Board up to his induction into the Army in 1943, offers a basic program for full capacity production with full employment. He writes as an advocate of the private enterprise system, in whose ability to maintain full and continuous production and employment, despite its past uneven performance, he expresses confidence.

Mr. Nathan finds that during the past twenty-five years some twenty percent of the annual national income was withheld from the production process. He does not attempt to break down this unspent income into profits, salaries, wages, etc., apparently in order not to complicate the problem. *His main point is that full production and full employment are possible only when the entire (or almost the entire) national income is spent for goods and services produced in any given period.* If the value of goods and services produced in a given year amounts to $100,000,000,000, the

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claims against this production, or the income of the enterprises and individuals in the form of profits, rents, interest, salaries and wages should roughly equal $100,000,000,000. If this entire sum is spent for goods and services, the production cycle will reproduce similar goods and services at approximately the same or a higher rate.

Heretofore this has not been the case. A substantial portion of the income was held back as "savings" which act as a brake on the continuous high level flow of production. Since income in the lower brackets is all spent, and largely on bare necessities, the percentage of the unspent income in the higher brackets rises well above the average twenty percent. The central problem becomes: how to turn the bulk of this decisive unspent income, or "savings," back into circulation and keep the production machinery going at full capacity.

Mr. Nathan rejects the suggestion that wages be raised, though he holds that consumer income, especially in the lower brackets, should be increased. If this could be done by raising the minimum wage requirements, he would not object; however, he hastens to add that "history reveals that prices increase when labor costs increase." This is an unfortunate anachronism in his reasoning. Among other things it ignores the historic process of almost uninterrupted growth of labor productivity which makes for steadily decreasing unit cost of production, the benefits of which flow mainly into higher profits instead of increased remuneration for labor or lower prices. Mr. Nathan also asserts that it is incompatible with a competitive system to expect "benevolence" (voluntary wage increases) from businessmen. To the suggestion that trade unions might change this "benevolence" into mutually acceptable social necessity, Mr. Nathan would probably counter by his general objection to favoring any "special interest groups" or "monopolistic practices," unwholesome categories into which he indiscriminately places both vested interests and organized labor.

How, then, does Mr. Nathan propose to maintain full production and employment? He advocates principally drastic changes in taxation, social insurance, government spending and foreign trade. Since an important portion of the population receive incomes well above what is required to satisfy all conceivable needs, he would reconstruct the tax system so as to encourage maximum spending and profitable investment of all, or nearly all, "savings." To overcome the deep-rooted tradition of saving for the "rainy day" on the part of the lower and middle income groups, he proposes an all-embracing social security system with benefit rates only a little below each individual's average income. And consistent with his total spending policy he would continue payment of benefits for the entire duration of unemployment, or other disability. The funds for the social insurance would be taken from those higher incomes that do not re-enter circulation but become "savings."

Mr. Nathan also advocates continuous large-scale government spending, running into billions, on socially useful projects—schools, hospitals, roads, parks, etc. His chief interest in foreign trade and overseas investments follows the same general objective. He is less concerned with the total volume of foreign trade than with a large favorable trade balance. An annual export balance (over and above imports) of five to ten billion dollars would "offset" so much "savings" and enable production to rise by a similar or larger amount. Mr. Nathan visualizes a postwar gross national income of only $150,000,000,000 of which about $30,000,000,000 would constitute the "savings" problem. This is a contrast to the 1944 gross national income of over $200,000,000,000.

Despite Mr. Nathan's rejection of the socially constructive role of organized labor there is a little doubt that labor can support his principal proposals since it is in full harmony with his objective of total employment and total production as well as with its corollary, rising consumers' income. Mr. Nathan places human rights above property rights in the sense that the main objective of the well functioning private enterprise system should be to serve the national community. He would not permit vested interests or narrow selfishness to stand in the way of those necessary reforms which, in his estimation, will make capitalism work and adequately satisfy the needs of the people.

RALPH BOWMAN.

Turning the Light On

THE VALLEY AND ITS PEOPLE, *by R. L. Duffus and Charles Krutch. Knopf. $1.75.*

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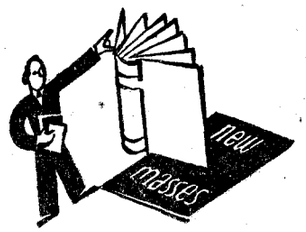

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seven states. Nature has given the area abundant resources in soil, water and minerals. But greed and improper exploitation had denuded the area and left an "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed" population.

Under the leadership of President Roosevelt, and the late Senator George W. Norris—"the one man in public life who is most right on the power question"—a measure was put through Congress placing the Tennessee Valley under governmental control. Scientists turned the precipitous river, shallow in many places and deep in others, into a stream navigable from its headwaters down to the Ohio. Because the latter connects with the Mississippi, it had access to the Gulf of Mexico, which meant giving the Valley people commerce and contact with all ports of the world. The engineers built regulating dams to control floodwaters, and hydro-electric engineers converted falling waters into cheap electric power servicing a radius of 250 miles. Phosphate methods of soil rebuilding were taught and the agriculturists introduced crop diversification.

To the white magic of water power, and concrete and steel, the author has added the flesh and bone of the Tennessee Valley people. In 1925 they had believed that John Thomas Scopes was justly convicted for teaching the theories of evolution. TVA turned light on that darkness. It brought schools, decent homes and jobs at living wages. Its policy was to employ local labor whenever possible; it turned raw farm hands into stable, semi-skilled, independent workers. It reduced the migrations from Tennessee from 12,000 to 3,000 per year.

Mr. Duffus of the New York *Times* hails the achievements of TVA "as the one incontestably solid pre-war accomplishment of the Roosevelt administration." Critics of the program have been forced to acknowledge that only governmental planning and finances were large and bold enough to undertake such a project. Even Wendell Willkie, who had fought TVA through his power company, came to the conclusion that the Authority had done a good job.

The text written by Mr. Duffus is accompanied by many beautiful illustrations, provided by Charles Krutch and the staff of the Graphics Department of TVA.

The book has become a weapon in the fight to establish President Roosevelt's new program for Missouri Valley and Columbia River Authorities.

JAMES KNIGHT.

You've Heard This One

CHEDWORTH, *by R. C. Sherriff. Macmillan. $2.75.*

SOME people just never learn, or if they ever knew, they've forgotten. And high among those people let us list the There'll-Always-Be-A-Colonel-Blimp's-England school of British writers. Witness our exhibit by Mr. Sherriff, who once wrote *Journey's End*, a tense and dramatic play of World War I (but a bit on the Blimpy side, too).

This time there's this gal making her way in show business, see, by the name of Peggy Grey. During an air raid up turns this tall, glamorous RAF character, a wing commander no less, who thinks she's terribly, terribly brave to go on singing and prevent a panic. *His* name is Derek Chedworth (shades of Ethel M. Dell!) and he's the squire of a but ancient manor in Cornwall. Blinded in a bit of a show, too, but a real glamorous-type character nonetheless—so much so that he sweeps Peggy off her feet overnight (not what you vulgar Americans are thinking, either!), carts her off to Cornwall and sets her up as lady of the manor. There she comes to love all the dear old villagers, with whom Derek settles down to agriculture, and also discovers that, because manor-running isn't the most economical way of farming and also because Derek just won't stop playing squire and giving away large scholarships and things, the estate is absolutely broke and they have to keep peddling off ancestral portraits and the bed Queen Elizabeth slept in. But will Derek let the little woman budget? Oh no; those are not women's problems, my dear.

So everything goes quietly to pot while a large air base for some American bombers is built on part of the land. Peggy almost gets herself involved with one of the brave, brave boys (nobody says anything or does anything, but they think a lot). Finally the field is raided and the manor burns down. Derek, though blind, manages to work the radio and save some of the planes that were in the air, while Peggy, under all this stress, caves in and just tells the villagers that they're broke. So everyone pitches in and builds Derek a new barn. Derek continues to believe that the village is the backbone of old England and he'll stick around Chedworth village and help preserve it (the Americans had shaken it a bit loose, you see).

The final scene is *not* a happy couple drinking tea at a fireside, but heaven knows how Mr. Sherriff missed it.

SALLY ALFORD.

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What Ernie Pyle did for GIs abroad, Arthur Miller has done for GIs in boot camp.

Miller toured the world of Army camps to trace the beginnings of the American soldier, to discover the moment when he changes from civilian in uniform to honest-to-god GI. He went because Hollywood was filming Ernie Pyle's *Here Is Your War*, and this time it wanted a war film that was real, a war film that wasn't just a "big, bloody western in uniform." To do justice to a great book, Hollywood wanted the whole picture of Army life, starting with the first bewildering day in boot camp. So Miller went on his journey and came back with this unique report—an honest, heart-warming book that is praised all over the nation.

"If this perfectly grand book is added to Ernie Pyle's *Here Is Your War* and *Brave Men*, even the most assiduous reader will have to go no further for a comprehensive picture of the men who make up our fighting forces."—STANLEY ANDERSON, *Cleveland Press*.

"First-rate. Mr. Miller is an excellent reporter: he has an eye for the little things that give meaning to the big ones...It's as good a picture as you are likely to find (short of joining the Army) of what goes on from draft board to port of embarkation."—HERBERT KUPFERBERG, *N.Y. Herald Tribune*.

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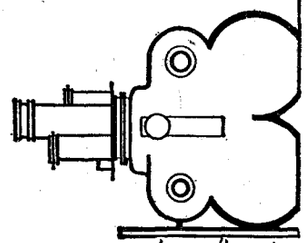

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

OPEN LETTER TO HOLLYWOOD

By JOSEPH FOSTER

IF EVER there was a subject for the Great American Film of this war, it is Captain Herman Bottcher, killed at Leyte on New Year's Eve, 1944. Such a film would not be a war play in the sense of *Objective Burma* or *Bataan*. Here the war would be a climax illustrating the purpose and meaning of a heroic life. As such it would be timely a year or ten years after the ending of military hostilities.

For the film would have to show not *how* he fought but *why:* that the reasons for his fighting are the reasons for his courage, his efficiency and his qualities of leadership. In these reasons would be found the explanation of why his men loved him and would follow him anywhere. Pvt. Harold Endres of Madison, Wis., declared: "If the old man (he was all of thirty-five) wanted us to enter Manila Bay in a rubber boat, we would go." Pvt. Tex Wilcox of Amarillo, Texas, avowed: "There ain't a man in the outfit who wouldn't have followed him through hell carrying a bucket of icewater." He was a soldier's soldier. which means that in peacetime he would have been a man of the people.

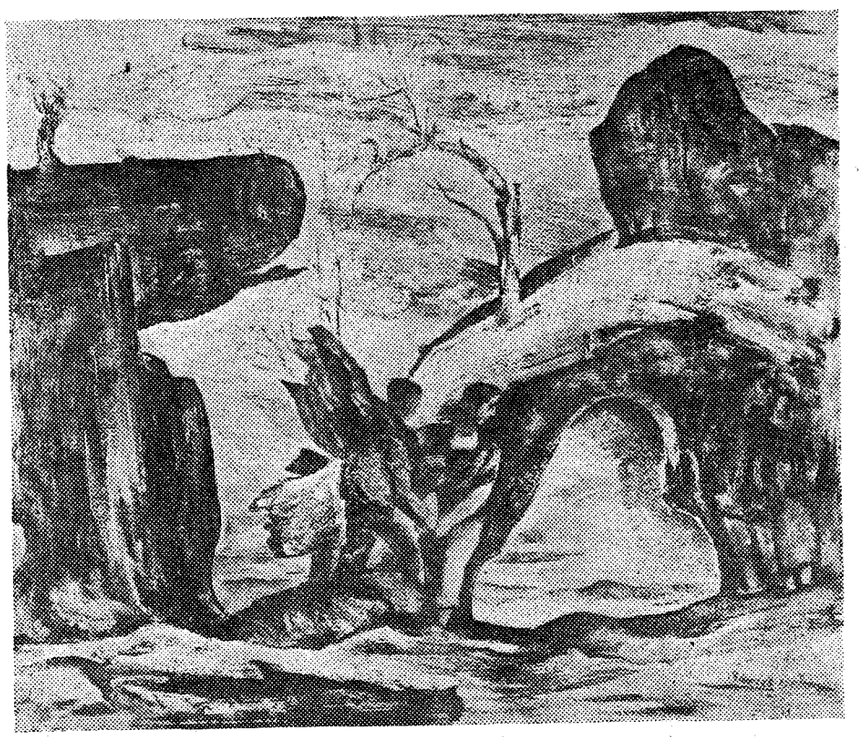
If Hollywood is to justify its claim to be a reflector of the ideas and currents of our time, if the movie is to be regarded as the medium from which historians of the future will document the tone and purpose of our generation, then the making of a film on Bottcher is obligatory. To date no motion picture has adequately explained the anti-fascist motives of the war. To do so, a film would have to get inside the individual soldier who understood the nature of the enemy, would have to analyze and examine his love for a democratic America, what it meant in terms of his personal life, his dreams and his plans.

Dozens of sequences, cinematically effective, come readily to mind when you examine the biographical facts of our protagonist. His life was a lightning flash illuminating the soul of what we popularly call our American way of life. As the quintessential American, he was the lowest common denominator of Americanism, for in demonstrating the best of our ideals, he was typical of all of us, including the inarticulate and the apolitical.

Five years after the Hitler beer-hall putsch and five years before Hitler came to power, Bottcher departed his native Germany for America. He was only nineteen at the time, but already America for him was a hope and a future. He couldn't have chosen a worse time to test his ideals. In the midst of the depression, America as a symbol must have had some of her brightness dimmed by the misery of the times. But I can imagine him fighting unemployment and hunger as he fought the Japs at Buna Mission. Facing, in the Whitman sense, broad democratic vistas, he must have regarded the setbacks of those days as temporary obstacles and transient aspects of the never-ending struggle for the good life. When Franco and his junta of fascist generals hatched the plot with Hitler and Mussolini to defeat democracy in Spain, Bottcher joined the Lincoln Brigade, formed in America to aid the Spanish people.

Bottcher said: "I've always hated dictators—that's why I joined the Spanish Loyalists." Here the film makers can find overpowering motivation for the fact that a German, saving his pennies to reach America, would leave these shores only a few years later to fight a war in Spain. This is the act which makes him so much the exemplary man of our time. He left America to protect the ideals for which he stood, the kind of life he was seeking here. The battle for the preservation of a free society happened to begin in Spain and he knew it.

WHEN it was over Bottcher had been wounded three times, decorated twice and raised to the rank of major, and he came back to San Francisco to complete his education. He



"Stormy Landscape," by Maurice Becker. At the Macbeth Gallery until March 10. A real people's artist, Becker has been drawing for the Masses since its founding.

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worked his way through the state college towards a degree in architecture, but he was never separate from the political issues of the day. He couldn't be. He never forgot the experience of Spain, and as he read the headlines he could hardly rest, for the evil grew larger and larger. When Pearl Harbor came he quit college with the degree almost within his grasp: it was time to fight with arms again in the war that in a sense he had never left off fighting. Here the film could easily show the continuity of events in the terms of what made Bottcher enlist, an alien with the pursuits of peace on his mind.

At war he was a formidable opponent. Single-handed, he knocked out machine-gun nests, killing the enemy in batches of four and five at a time. In the words of Ehrenburg, he killed that he might end murder. Unleashed destruction on the battlefield, he was gentle and considerate when not fighting. The Japanese had come to fear him so much that they did all they could to avoid becoming his prisoners. Yet when they did fall into his hands, they were surprised at the decent treatment he gave them. So prodigious were his feats of battle and so considerate his treatment of his men, that he rapidly became a legend all through the South Pacific. He was raised from sergeant to captain, and at the time of his death was on the verge of becoming a major. He was granted citizenship by a special act of Congress, to be eligible for the DSC. The way he was told about it is the very essence of drama. After a heavy skirmish he was resting in a fox-hole, sweaty and begrimed, when he was approached by his superior officer. "Captain," said the latter, "my congratulations. You are a citizen of the United States." Bottcher was a symbol of the democratic soldier, simple, unafraid, understanding, loving his men, watching them fight and die in pain, yet knowing that it was necessary —that the alternative was enslavement by the blackest forces in history.

On New Year's eve of last year, when the battle of Leyte was almost ended Bottcher and his men were doing the toughest work of the war—fighting behind the enemy lines. They were attacked by 300 Japs trying to escape to the coast, and Bottcher fell under a burst of mortar fire. He died as he was being brought back to camp.

The film, to be successful, would show each of this man's acts as an integrated part of his main purpose in life —to achieve a life of decency in a free world. Each move—coming to America, fighting in Spain, working his way through college, enlisting in the final battle against fascism—would have to be treated as further symbolic saving of pennies to reach his goal. At the end of such a film, no one could question the fact that Capt. Herman Bottcher had achieved his own simple ideal—"to live and die as an American."

Dean Dixon

THERE is quite a difference between the lower price policy of some professional symphonic organizations — which set a ninety-cent minimum—and the twenty-five cent top which Dean Dixon plans to set when his American Youth Orchestra starts giving concerts in South Jamaica, Middle Harlem, the Lower East Side and the East Bronx, among other areas. Even more important, the young Negro conductor will put into practice his ideas about the propagation of great music among young people.

Dixon prefers to work with relatively inexperienced musicians, feeling that they are more easily molded into an instrument for his ideas. He makes a great effort to infect the players with an enthusiasm for the music they perform, talking about the composer and his aims, and about each of the instruments and its role in the composition. Every member of the orchestra is made to feel vital to the unfolding of the symphonic whole. When a first violinist, for example, understands the three notes given to the bass drummer, he can better play his own part as a sensitive musician.

The result of this training is a symphony orchestra playing as an integrated, sensitive and enthusiastic instrument. In their first concert, held in Carnegie Hall under the sponsorship of American Youth for Democracy, ninety young men and women—Negro and white—gave pointers to our bored professionals on the treasures still to be found in Beethoven's *Seventh Symphony*. In accompanying the gifted young American pianist, Vivian Rivkin, in the Mozart *E Flat Major Piano Concerto*, they played with an emotional concurrence seldom achieved. A surprised press could not praise the concert enough.

With this group to reveal the riches of great music, Dixon will set himself up in competition with "jitterbugism," which in his opinion is a cult mainly of culturally frustrated adolescents. He feels that "jitterbugism," when more

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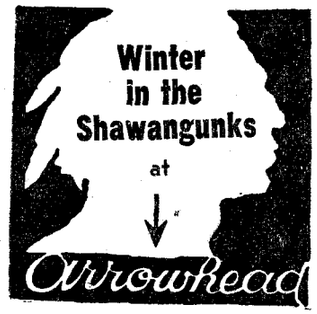

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than a phase, can stunt cultural growth. Indeed, in what cultural direction shall a devotee turn when he loses the muscular strength to "jitterbug"? "You can't very well be a jitterbug at thirty," says Dixon.

From his work in collaboration with Dr. Irving Lorge, psychologist at Columbia University, on the problem of music presentation for different age groups, Dixon has reached the conclusion that "the coffeehouse music now chosen in school music appreciation classes, together with relatively unimaginative children's concert programs, turn young listeners to jazz." Compositions such as *Traumerei* and *Humoresque* are easily absorbed but lead to a musical dead end. Children, therefore, "must be introduced to larger forms, even at an early age, so that they may progressively discern beauty in more complex architecture."

Convinced that each age level is capable of enjoying music within the framework of its own listening powers, Dixon, in the case of a group of three-year-olds—for whom tactual impressions are important—would circle the orchestra around them so that they might touch the various instruments. This is certainly an interesting start on the road to comprehending rhythm; then melody; and, finally, structure.

Theatrical effects can help fix attention. In the *Danse Macabre*, for instance, the xylophone player in a skeleton costume can become the "star," visually as well as musically; and the Ravel *Bolero* might be danced to by the audience while it is being performed.

Mr. Dixon suggests that neighborhood concerts, and the accompanying activities, may make a contribution to the problem of dealing with juvenile delinquency. "Music *per se* will not make angels, but projects which involve neighborhood promotion of concerts offer healthy, diverting activity."

The American Youth Orchestra will play American music and modern music, but not indiscriminately. In the modern scores which he considers for presentation Mr. Dixon will look for "sincerity, freshness and validity." As for "very hard to take" music in some of our symphonic programs, he believes that "the day has not come when melody and rhythm should not exist in concert programs for popular audiences."

One thing might be added. The five to twenty-five-cent admission charge, which is there as a formality recognizing our tendency to deprecate what is given

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away free, will just about cover carfare and dinners for the orchestra members. It remains for people who understand what Dean Dixon wants to achieve to see to it that the orchestra remains as a pioneering force in musical America.

JOHN KITTON.

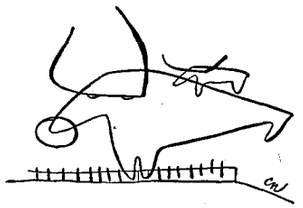
On Broadway

TO THE Masque Sound & Recording Company must go the credit for whatever dramatic effect was produced by *Signature*, Elizabeth McFadden's melodrama, which opened at the Forrest on February 14 and closed shortly after. The sound of katydids outside the court chamber in which the play took place was by all odds the most precise effect we have ever heard. One could genuinely feel the presence of the Southern countryside surrounding the chamber in which Judge Simon Kilrail, played standardly by Frederic Tozere, suffered the gradual discovery of the murder he had committed, and which he tried unsuccessfully to pin on a pair of young lovers.

There is no point in detailing the story. Suffice to say that Judge Kilrail's colleagues and neighbors should have known that he was the cousin of the murdered man and would instantly come into possession of the estate should the doomed one be eliminated. In *Signature*, however, the Judge's colleagues take a long time to remember this fact and when they do it is obvious to the audience that it was all trumped up.

If only because one of the daily reviewers remarked that the piece was an example of good playwrighting, we should like to note that at no point in the proceedings was any one character to be told apart from his neighbor, that indeed there were times when eight or ten sixty-year-olds were on the stage together all looking alike, and finally, that rarely in the theater have we been so conscious of the actors explaining to each other what is happening. As the prosecutor, Lawrence Fletcher accomplished his chore with grace. All in all, though, they should have jacked up the katydids and shoved a new play under.

MATT WAYNE.



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